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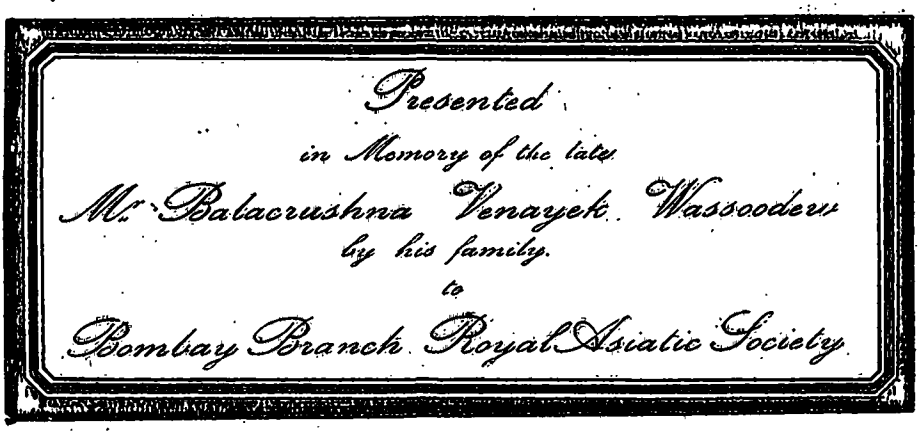

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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PRINCIPLES OF GOOJURATEE GRAMMAR,

BY Mr. E. LECKEY,

MAY BE HAD OF

MESSRS. CHESSON & WOODHALL,

28, Medow Street, Fort, Bombay.

REDUCED PRICE,—Rs. 4-12 as.

Opinions of Natives.

To Englishmen and others who may be engaged in the study of the Goojuratee language, this work will be most useful. The Goojuratee used in this grammar is that of the Hindoos, and compound letters are introduced.—*Jam-i-Jamsheed, 2nd February* 1857.

To any person who may understand English, there is no book treating of Goojuratee grammar which will prove so useful as the abovementioned work. This gentleman, at the time of writing the grammar, devoted his whole attention to the discovery of what the rules of the Goojuratee language really were; and in this pursuit he has succeeded admirably. Several others who undertake to compile grammars, follow their own fancies: a certain kind of arrangement is found in Sanscrit, therefore it ought to exist in Goojuratee; such and such does not sound well in my ears; I have conversed with several, they speak thus and thus. Mr. Leckey is not of those who desire to compile grammars on such fancies as these. This gentleman has not troubled himself with imagining how a sentence should be arranged with elegance, but he has shown how the words are actually arranged in sentences in the Goojuratee books which have been published. * * * This grammar will be of more use to those Hindoos and Parsees who are acquainted with English, than to those Englishmen who are studying Goojuratee. One thing is very disgraceful, and that is, that the best Goojuratee grammar has not been produced by our own countrymen, but by a foreigner, to whom we sometimes apply the epithet "barbarian." The patience and industry which this gentleman has displayed in the work are very praiseworthy. He went on marking off sentences as they occurred in the books which he perused, he classified the whole of the marked passages, and then, as he wrote out the rules, he introduced the selections as examples. * * * It ought to be in the possession of those who teach the Goojuratee language.—*Rast Gofetar, 15th February* 1857.

From reading the preface of this grammar, and from a cursory examination of the compilation, it appears evident that in compiling the book the author has expended no small amount of labour. It is

the duty of every one who may intend to write a work on any subject, to read the books which other learned men have written on that subject. In this way Mr. Leckey has acted. Before commencing the work of compiling this grammar, he looked into many grammars, of both eastern and western languages, written at home and abroad. Moreover, he read some sixty Goojuratee books, large and small, and selected from these the examples which he has introduced into his grammar. This book will be of great use to Europeans, and more especially to those Englishmen who may wish to study Goojuratee, because its explanations are given in English.—*Boodheewurdhuk Grunth, March* 1857.

Mr. Leckey has published in Bombay a grammar in Goojuratee and English. * * * It is highly praiseworthy.—*Boodhee Prukash, March* 1857.

We think that this is an excellent book. * * * It appears to have been written with very deep research, and very profound thought. Mr. Leckey deserves great credit. In this book the rules of the Goojuratee language are written. To enter minutely into these would require more leisure than we can command. To those *Pundits* or *Moonshees* who teach Goojuratee we strongly recommend the work. Englishmen will, from Mr. Leckey's grammar, learn Goojuratee quickly, and with ease. Moreover those Native gentlemen who may have made some progress in English will be able with facility to learn Goojuratee grammar by means of this book: they will be in a position to know the rules of the Goojuratee language, and comprehend its excellence. The book is written in such a way that to those who can understand English it must prove very useful. —*Sutyu Prukash, 22nd March* 1857.

We say that this grammar is very well compiled. It is far superior to any other of the kind which has hitherto appeared. Mr. Leckey, whilst compiling the work, has conducted his researches with remarkable industry and great depth of judgment. The book is exceedingly useful to Englishmen, either to learn or to teach Goojuratee, because, by its aid, the language can be acquired with ease and expedition; and moreover, those Native gentlemen and students who may have acquired some knowledge of the English language will, from this book, be able to understand English and Goojuratee grammar well, acquire a knowledge of the rules of the languages, and understand their excellences. The superior manner in which this work is compiled renders Mr. Leckey worthy of great respect.—*Ahmedabad Wurtman, 1st April* 1857.

My dear Sir,—Having looked over your work on the principles of Guzerathee grammar, I am of opinion that it will not fail to prove useful to persons studying that language.

Your's truly,
Venayek Wassoodew.

Bombay, 27th April 1857.

E. Leckey, Esq.

FICTIONS

CONNECTED WITH

THE INDIAN OUTBREAK OF 1857

EXPOSED.

BY

EDWARD LECKEY,

AUTHOR OF "PRINCIPLES OF GOOD RATHER GRAMMAR."

BOMBAY:

CHESSON & WOODHALL,

28, MEDOW STREET, FORT.

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Presented by: in memory of
Shri B. V. Vaingankar
by his family
Date: June 1964

Dedication.

To

JOHN YUILL, Esq.

My dear Doctor,

Understanding that it is your intention in a short time to leave India for a season, and being desirous of expressing to you in some way or other my sense of your many excellent qualities, which an intercourse of more than ten years has enabled me to witness, I have felt at some loss to decide as to the manner in which I could give substantial utterance to my wishes. Jewels,—gold and silver,—as you are aware, I have none; so that even a gold-headed cane, a golden snuff-box, or a silver cup—with or without an inscription—is out of the question. Under these circumstances, then, you will, remembering the widow's mite, not decline to accept at my hands this trifle of a dedication. As it will no more enrich the receiver than impoverish the giver, your acceptance of the offering will not be detrimental to your known disinterestedness.

You will probably discover in the work some things which you, had you been the writer, would have modified or omitted. This discovery will bring into exercise your usual charity; and you will, in these smaller matters, no doubt, agree with me

to disagree, as you have hitherto done on questions of greater importance.

With my best wishes for the happiness of your family and yourself in all time, I subscribe myself,

My dear Doctor,
Your much obliged,
Most obedient, and humble servant,
EDWARD LECKEY.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages will tend to show how difficult a matter it is to write a history of the Indian Outbreak. By history is meant a truthful record of facts and events. Two classes of parties are necessary to the production of history; namely, those who witness the occurrences, and those who classify and arrange them. In producing contemporary history, it may happen that the compiler is, to a certain extent, a witness also. The only real advantage, however, which he derives from this circumstance is, that he is the better able to form a correct judgment of the few incidents with which he is personally acquainted; for the rest, he is in no better condition than any other writer of equal talent who is not personally cognisant of the matter of which he treats.

The testimony of the humblest individual may be accepted as to matters of fact, provided he confine himself to the narration of what passed under his own observation; and his relations of what he may have heard from others, if he preserve their exact words, and distinguish their accounts from his own, will have their uses. But it is, for the most part, vain to expect that the necessary discrimination should be exercised by men of this stamp, who are in general too confiding, and who, from this cause, are apt to receive the accounts of their friends as

indisputably trustworthy, and adopt them without reserve in their own narratives. Besides, it may happen that the friends are not very precise in the employment of terms, and that these have been misunderstood and misrepresented in consequence. Moreover, the friends may have communicated their ill-digested impressions to other friends, each of whom, according to the image left upon his own mind, produced his own version, differing somewhat from the original account; each version, too, bearing marks of the mental peculiarities of the last individual by whom it was brought before the public. In cases like these, the discrepancies to be met with in the published accounts of the same facts and events need not create surprise; and it must be apparent to the intelligent reader, that there are principles other than that "All men are liars," on which the discrepancies referred to can be accounted for. It will not be necessary to search for illustrations in a period so far remote as that of the story of "The Three Black Crows," or that of Sir Walter Raleigh and his three witnesses about the quarrel that occurred under his prison window. There is a contemporary case which is sufficient for the purpose. The *Lahore Chronicle* of the 4th of November 1857 said,—"We have it from an eye-witness that the [Delhi] King's youngest son goes up and down the Chandnee Chouk, on an elephant, either with Mr. O * * * * * * or Col. H. * * * * sitting behind him. * * * This youngest son of the King is seventeen years of age." And again,—"His youngest son * * * parading up and down with an English officer after him." Referring to the same circumstance, the *Friend of India* of the 19th idem affirmed,—"The youngest son of the King, eighteen years of age, has been declared innocent on account of his

youth, and rides through Delhi on an elephant, with two British officers behind him to do him honour." The discrepancies between these two accounts may be thus tabulated :—

	No. of British Officers.	Age of Youngest Son.
Lahore Chronicle..	One.	Seventeen.
Friend of India....	Two.	Eighteen.

Of course, it is assumed that each of the papers named had at Delhi its special correspondent, and that his version was given in all its integrity.

But the difficulties of obtaining correct history do not end with the discrepancies of those who supply the original materials. These may be still further vitiated by the writers who undertake to collect and arrange the details thus furnished. These men are of like passions with ourselves; and, unless the habit of controlling those passions has been effectually acquired, the probability is, that the compilation will be deeply tinged with the religious, professional, national, political, or personal prejudices of the writer.—If he be imbued with strong religious prejudices, he will, like the Earl of Shaftesbury, and others, on the one hand, attribute the cause of the mutinies to the absence of religious teaching; or, like many ignorant natives, on the other hand, to attempts made on the part of the Indian government to convert the natives to Christianity: if he be hasty, impulsive, and unreflecting, he will snatch at the first crude stories of horrors which heated imaginations, excited by the mutinies, invented, and on these he will found theories which no after discoveries can eradicate from his mind; the alleged facts may be shaken, and all reliance on them abandoned, but the foregone conclusions remain in all their strength :

the legal practitioner will trace a great number of the causes of the outbreak to the irregular practices of the courts in the interior; and he will be very full on this subject, and on the importance of spreading over the country a shoal of gentlemen of the long robe: the native will attribute most of the mischief to European agency and interference; and he will naturally suggest the more extended employment of natives in the posts of higher emolument: the European will also see no good boded in appointing natives to high official situations; and he will suggest the propriety of more public appointments being thrown open to Europeans alone: one political partisan will attribute all the Indian evils to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie; another, to the Inam Commission; another, to the annexation principle not having been carried out universally; another, to the alleged ill-concealed treachery of our allied native princes; and another, to the alleged imbecility of Lord Canning and the members of his council: the disappointed man will see all wrong, from top to bottom; and so fully will he enlarge upon the wrongs, that he will have no room left to show what is right: it may happen, too, that our author is under obligations to some friend who has figured in the Blue Book as a delinquent of no small magnitude, in connection with the outbreak; and it is almost certain that the author, in his veritable history, will, rather than expose his patron, be guilty of the amiable weakness of omitting the important circumstance altogether.—It is easy to see, that with all these influences at work, the chances against anything like correct history being attainable at present are almost overwhelming.

History may be also damaged by the compiler's igno-

rance of those branches of knowledge which it is absolutely necessary he who would write history should possess. If he has no acquaintance with botany, he will probably be found, like the author of *The Sepoy Revolt*, adopting some story that will require a bamboo of fabulous length; if he has but a very limited knowledge of the natural history of man, he may be seen, like the same author and he of *The Indian Rebellion*, turning crawling babes into philosophers; if he should happen to have no turn for statistics, the chances are that he will be caught slaughtering more people of a particular class than the given locality could have produced; should he be innocent of any knowledge of geography, chemistry, and natural history, he will probably be discovered, like the *Poona Observer* and others, preserving severed human feet, in exposed tropical situations, undisturbed for an incredible length of time; should he not be favoured with even a smattering of military science, he will, in all likelihood, furnish the cavalry with muskets and bayonets, and cause the infantry to ride their horses belly-deep into a river.* Examples of some errors of the nature here described will be found in the body of the work.

Prejudices and ignorance are of themselves sufficient to destroy the credibility of history, without the addition of wilful falsehood. But even this has been resorted to. What can be a more glaring fabrication than that about the crucifixions at Cawnpore, that concerning the Highlanders dividing the hair of Miss Wheeler and swearing vengeance over it, or that referring to the fusiliers scratching a cross on their bayonets, kissing it, and

* Narrative of the Indian Revolt, p. 113.

vowing thereon revenge? Many other similar fabrications will be found further on.

The assurance that there are disinterested men of intelligence and integrity capable of producing credible history out of the materials furnished by the recent disturbances in India, is refreshing; and in the mean time, it is hoped that the present work may be of use to the humble, unwary reader, in assisting him, in some measure, to apply his mind to the task of discriminating between truth and fiction. If the book succeed thus far, it will have done admirably.

The Author, while engaged in compiling narratives of the recent outbreak, met serious obstacles in some of the fictions reproduced in this work. Perhaps, after he had worked up a nice little episode, which, from the amount of terrible interest, would have beaten to shreds anything that was ever exhibited in a melodramatic entertainment at the minor theatres, he happened, on revising the production, to discover in it some absurdity or impossibility, which could not have come there but for the confident and circumstantial manner in which the fiction had been related. The consequence was, a cutting and slashing of the scene until it was brought down to the dimensions of an ordinary murder, such as might be found related in any "Last dying speech and confession" which has appeared within the last forty years, and of even less interest than that which some of those productions might create. The time and ingenuity that had been expended in dove-tailing the fiction, the space it took up on paper, the ink that had been used, the nib of the pen, and above all, the intensely melancholy pleasure which the first contemplation of the picture had afforded, were thus all irretrievably lost. It is no

matter for astonishment, then, that after more than one repetition of such occurrences, the writer should have felt his equanimity somewhat disturbed, and have come to the resolution of holding up to public odium some of these disturbers of his peace and defacers of his narratives. This object his subscribers have enabled him to accomplish ; and to them he begs to tender his unfeigned thanks for their kind assistance.

Bombay, *December*, 1859.

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FICTIONS FROM MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES.—Old Pestonjee. Miss Wheeler's hair. A flag of truce. How children at Neemuch were burnt in boxes. Captain Skene. The hog. Fifty pairs of men's feet. Shells tampered with. Cawnpore inscriptions. Widdrington on the most horrible part of the Jhansi transactions. Widdrington's honours beaten to shreds .. .. pp. 157—178

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FICTIONS EXPOSED.

CHAPTER I.

FICTIONS OF "THE SEPOY REVOLT."*

I. "The women and children [of the Futtyghur fugitives] were despatched with swords and spears. The men were ranged in line, with a bamboo running along the whole extent and passing through each man's arms, which were tied behind his back. The troopers then rode round them and taunted their victims, reviling them with the grossest abuse, and gloating over the tortures they were about to inflict. When weary of vituperation, one of them would discharge a pistol in the face of a captive, whose shattered head would droop to the right or left, the body meanwhile being kept upright, and the blood and brains bespattering his living neighbours. The next person selected for slaughter would perhaps be four or five paces distant; and in this way the fiends contrived to prolong for several hours the horrible contact of the dead and the living."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 136.

BEFORE any remarks are made on this disgusting picture, it is advisable that the manner in which the slaughter of the Futtehghur fugitives is, by native chroniclers, stated to have been carried out, should be placed before the reader. Nunna Nawab says that the fugitives were first shot, then hacked with swords; and finally, their lifeless bodies were thrown into the river. Nerput, Opium Gomastha of Cawnpore, writes, in his Diary,†—"These [the Futtehghur fugitives] were apprehended, brought before the Nana, who ordered all to be killed, and they were

* *The Sepoy Revolt, its Causes and its Consequences.* By HENRY MEAD. 2nd Edition. G. Routledge & Co. April 5, 1858.

† Blue Book.

murdered; one young lady, daughter of a general, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children, told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe. She was then murdered."

The next testimony is furnished from the report of an eye-witness.—"What remains to be told, I learned from a servant of the Maharajah Duleep Singh, who accompanied Mr. Elliot, the Maharajah's Agent, in his flight. When the rebels made prisoners of the party at the river, he ran away, but only to disguise himself and return, that he might learn their end. He followed them to Cawnpore, and saw them shut up in the building already mentioned. Here they remained for an hour, when the Nana came, and ordered the doors to be thrown open and the prisoners to be brought out. This done, they were taken to the parade-ground and drawn up in a line, without reference to age or sex. The sepoys then fired a volley into them with their muskets, which killed many of them, and the rest were at once dispatched with the sword."—*R. S. Fullerton*, in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1858.

The whole of the testimony now adduced is so far at variance with the circumstantial details of *The Sepoy Revolt* as not to countenance even by implication the protracted nature of the massacre described in that volume; and the last witness is remarkably pointed on this part of the subject, stating that those who fell not by the musketry fire were "at once" dispatched with the sword. Not less explicit is Mr. Fullerton's witness on another point, where he describes all the prisoners as being "drawn up in a line, without reference to age or sex," and as meeting with a common death by either the musket or the sword; whereas, *The Sepoy Revolt* kills the women and children "with swords and spears," ranges the men alone in line, dispenses, in their case, with either the musket or the sword, and disposes of them by means of the pistols of the cavalry. Both cannot be right; and as the account of Nunna Nawab coincides with that of Mr. Fullerton's eye-witness in the particular of the employment of muskets and swords, it appears more in accordance with the requirements of truth to

reject the tale in *The Sepoy Revolt*, except in the single fact that the Futtehghur refugees were slaughtered.

Probably, it would be as well, before leaving this subject altogether, to inquire whether all the details furnished by *The Sepoy Revolt* are possible, or, to speak more exactly, whether any of them are impossible. The number of the Futtehghur refugees is variously stated as 120, 128, and 135; the average of which is above 127. Of these, 20 or 25, say 23, were females. Some of the females were unmarried; and some of them, though married, had no children with them,—for instance, the Freemans, Campbells, Johnsons, and McMullins, of the Futtehghur mission, had amongst them only two children, Willie and Fanny Campbell;* but, without any better data than these, it is difficult to approximate to the correct number of children: if the missionary ratio of children to women were adopted, it would give less than 12 children for the whole number of women. Perhaps a safer number would be 25. The total of women and children would thus be 48; which, if deducted from the total number of the refugees, 127, would leave 79 adult males, "errors excepted," of course. Well, then, according to the *The Sepoy Revolt*, the "men were ranged in line, with a bamboo running along the whole extent and passing through each man's arms, which were tied behind his back." Allowing the average breadth of each man to be 15 inches, which is not overstating the thing, the length of bamboo necessary, to pass through each man's "arms," and keep the whole of the 79 victims close together without any intervening space, would have to be 98 feet 9 inches. Now, if the mutineers had been able to command, on the spur of the moment, the longest bamboo that India could produce, according to the most eminent botanists,—a supposition which is highly improbable,—that bamboo would not have much exceeded 70 feet in length.† The detail, then, about the bamboo, seems to describe an impossibility. The hideous and the horrible have, it is presumed, one common affinity with the sublime, that of being nearly allied to the

* Walsh's "Martyred Missionaries," pp. 303 and 305.

† See "Penny Cyclopædia," article "Bambusa or Bambos."

ridiculous; and so clumsily is the disgusting story in *The Sepoy Revolt* got up, that it reminds one of the penny theatres at home or the awkwardly conducted doll-shows of India, rather than of the awful and solemn scene that was really enacted at Cawnpore on the 12th of June 1857.

II. "An English lady and her children had been captured by his [Nana's] bloodhounds, and was led into his presence. Her husband had been murdered on the road, and she implored the Nana for life; but the ruffian ordered them all to be taken to the maidan (plain) and killed. On the way, the children complained of the sun, and the lady requested they might be taken under the shade of some trees; but no attention was paid to her, and after a time she and her children were tied together and shot, *with the exception of the youngest, who was crawling over the bodies, and feeling them, and asking them why they had fallen down in the sun.* The poor infant was *at last* killed by a trooper."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p, 135.

Italics are not used in the original,—they are intended merely to point out that portion which appears to have been tacked on with the object of creating effect. This portion of the story is omitted by three natives who generally agree as to the rest of the particulars, and who evidently have no love for Nana. The first native account is the entire substance of the narrative as given in a "Translation of the Diary of the Nunna Nawab,"* and is as follows:—"One man, his wife, his elder daughter, and three small children, were travelling down the Grand Trunk Road, when the head of the family was killed, and the rest were allowed to proceed on their way. These were captured by the cavalry on the 10th, and brought to Nana, who ordered them to be killed; they were all taken to the parade-ground and shot."

The next account is more circumstantial, probably as much so as truth would admit.—"On one day, he [Nujeer Jewaree] says, a family was seen approaching from the west in a car-

* "A native gentleman residing in Cawnpore, containing an account of the occurrences there from June 5 to July 2, 1857."—Enclosure 17 in No. 8, of One of the Blue Books on the Indian Mutinies.

riage; the husband was at once killed; the others, 'one lady and one grown-up young lady and three children,' were brought before the Nena, who ordered them to be instantly put to death. 'The lady begged the Nena to spare her life; but the disgraceful man would not in any way hearken to her, and took them all into the plain. At that time the sun was very hot, and the lady said—"The sun is very hot, take me into the shade"; but no one listened. On four sides the children were catching hold of their mother's gown, and saying, "Mamma, come to the bungalow and give me some bread and water." At length, having been tied hand to hand, and made to stand up on the plain, they were shot down by pistol-bullets.'" *

The next is as remarkable for brevity as that of Nunna Nawab.—"*June* 10.— * * * One man, one woman, and three children, and one miss, were travelling down. The head of the family had been murdered on the road, but these were let go. The cavalry got hold of them, and took them to Nana, who ordered them to be killed; they were all taken on parade and shot." †

The addition made to the story as given in *The Sepoy Revolt* is as unfortunate as it is gratuitous. The reader is required to believe that a mere crawling infant could speak, that it was so forward in speaking as to be able to ask a complex question: not content with making it simply ask why its mother and sisters had fallen down,—a stretch sufficiently unnatural,—the sage inventor must commit himself further by making the little crawler add "in the sun"! But asking a complex question is not the only duty devolving on the crawling prodigy; its question must involve an amount of experience which is rare in children who are able to run and prattle, and who are with difficulty taught to believe that there is any harm in the sun: this infant "crawling over the bodies" is made to imply in its suggestive question, that exposure to the sun is injurious to the body. In the galleries of our most obscure provincial theatres, the thing might tell with stunning effect, and a burst of indignation or a flood of tears

* The Revolt in India, p. 133.

† Diary of Nerput, Opium Gomashta of Cawnpore. In one of the Blue Books.

might be safely calculated upon as the result of the exhibition; but it would not fail to damn the piece in any of the higher metropolitan theatres, and prevent its running as far as even a second night.

The Indian Rebellion heightens the effect still more. It says, the youngest child "was seen crawling over the dead bodies, and feeling them, and asking why they had fallen down, and gone to sleep in the sun! At last a cruel trooper came, and dashed out the brains of this little one."* Here, it will be observed, the question of the infant is still more complex; and the trooper is still more cruel. So struck with the effect was the writer, that he could not help saying, "What a picture might a skilful artist form out of this scene * * * !" Skilful he would need to be, if he could place the head of the child who asked the question involving three distinct propositions on the shoulders of the infant that was crawling over the bodies.

III. "A few paces further, and the boots of a child apparently about ten years old were found, with the feet in them, the legs having been cut off just about the ankles."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 170.

"The following has been sent to us on most respectable authority * * * :—'During the flight from Delhi, on the road to Umballa, a lady saw little feet in the shoes that had been cut off, and were lying about.'"—*Calcutta Englishman.*

"In one village, a child's shoes were found with the feet still in them, cut off while the infant was yet alive."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 20.

"We found a pair of boots, evidently those of a girl six or seven years of age, with the feet in them. They had been cut off just above the ankle."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, pp. 20, 21. Said to have been written "by an officer from the camp before Delhi."

Notwithstanding the particular discrepancies between these narratives, there is a general agreement between them—their defective grammar. The second and third also coincide as to "shoes"; and the first and fourth as to "boots." The

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* The Indian Rebellion, p. 70.

second and third are at one in representing the feet as "little," or those of an "infant"—an infant in the popular acceptation of the term, not in that legal sense which regards him who is under twenty-one years of age as an infant. The first and fourth point to something larger than an ordinary infant. In stating these resemblances, some discrepancies have been already implied. Here are a few more. The second account implies that the shoes had been cut off; the first that the legs had been cut off; the third leaves it doubtful which had been cut off, the shoes or the feet; while the fourth is nearly as doubtful between the boots and the feet. The fourth makes the "girl six or seven years of age"; while the first pronounces either the boots or the child "about ten years old." The third differs from all the others (because, perhaps, it was written by some skilful surgeon), in declaring, without a shadow of misgiving, that either the feet or the shoes were "cut off while the infant was yet alive." The fourth differs from all the rest (because, it may be, the writer was better acquainted than the others with the mysteries of shoe-making), in declaring the boots to be "evidently those of a girl," and to be also "a pair." The first three narrations are in the third person; whereas the fourth account is in the first person. The first three stories are avowedly hearsay; while the fourth story seemingly professes to be related by an eye-witness.

Admitting that the fourth account is written by an officer, which is a very large admission, seeing that the story is not vouched for by any responsible name, it should be noticed that the writer does not say "I found." The "we" does not necessarily include the individual who uses it. It might mean, in the mouth of a military officer, either *our army*, *our division*, *our brigade*, *our corps*, *our officers*, *our men*, or *my company*, without in the least implying that the narrator was personally cognisant of the matter he describes; and might, therefore, be used in mere hearsay, by an officer and a gentleman, without any intention to deceive. To the reader, this narrative is as much hearsay as any of the other three; because, he has nothing more than the word of an anonymous compiler for the alleged

fact of the account having been written "by an officer from the camp before Delhi."

One common class—mere hearsay—having been found for all the accounts, they may be treated as of equal validity. As the first and fourth refer to the same time, that on which the British force was marching down upon Delhi, to revenge the outbreak and massacre, the fourth may be taken to include both, notwithstanding the discrepancy about the age of the victim; and the third, as it furnishes no clue to time, may be allowed to give place to the second, which contains this element.

The second and the fourth have an agreement as to place, the lady having been, as alleged, on the road from Delhi to Umballa, and the officer on the same road from Umballa to Delhi. It may, therefore, be inferred, that both of these narratives were intended to point to the same circumstance. The lady saw, about the 11th or 12th of May, 1857, a pair of little feet cut off, and these feet were encased in the shoes which, it is supposed, the child had worn at the time the feet were cut off. The officer saw, about the beginning of June,* a pair of little feet cut off and encased in boots. Without taking into account the discrepancy between boots and shoes, it may be remarked that it is unlikely in the extreme, that a pair of feet would be allowed, by the obscene animals with which India abounds, to lie for half a month or more undevoured and undisturbed, even if the Indian climate of May and June had refused to perform its usual functions in causing speedy decomposition. Three letters of Hodson's were written from Raee,† and not one of them makes the most distant allusion to the pair of feet in either boots or shoes.

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* On "the march from Paniput to Raee,"—so says the *Friend of India* July 16, 1857, p. 679.—According to Hodson, p. 192, the portion of the force with which he marched appears to have moved from Paniput on the night of the 29th or the morning of the 30th of May; and to have been at Raee on the 1st of June, —p. 194.

† Hodson, pp. 194 to 196.

IV. "Later still, the last of the Great Moguls issued a decree of extermination against the Sikhs."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 96.

"The King of Delhi was silly enough to aid our policy by inflicting cruel tortures on the Sikhs who fell into his hands. Some of these [hands ?] were sent into General Barnard's camp, frightfully mutilated, as a challenge and a warning to the inhabitants of the Punjaub."—*Ibid*, p. 160.

There is good reason for rejecting these statements as pure fiction. They were evidently not believed by the Punjaub authorities, as will be seen from the following passages in Mr. Cooper's work (first edition):—"Proclamations were issued [by the rebel government in Delhi] that any Sikhs or Khakees, who would desert from the British army and join the army of Islam, were to be received with open arms, and their devotion [was] to be rewarded by jagheers."—*The Crisis in the Punjaub*, p. 132. "About half of the Sikhs in Delhi were inclined to the British side, but the other half fought even more determinedly against us, according to the spies. And it is possible that a considerable body did desert." (p. 133.)

Further, by a letter from the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjaub,* it is shown that five sepoys,—of the Loodiana Sikh Regiment, that mutinied at Benares and Jaunpore, who had arrived at their homes in the Punjaub at intervals varying from 14 to 20 days after Delhi was stormed, who had been tried by the Officiating Deputy Commissioner on the charges of "mutiny, desertion, [and] aiding and abetting in rebelling against the state," and who had been found guilty on these charges,—were condemned by the Judicial Commissioner to be hanged for these offences, in addition to that of the prisoners' having "joined the mutineers at at Delhi." Mr. Montgomery would not have mentioned the additional offence, if he had believed the statements at the head of these remarks.

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* No. 4044, dated Lahore, 28th Nov. 1857, to the Offg. Deputy Commissioner; published in the *Lahore Chronicle*, 2nd Dec. 1857.

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"V. " The extract now given is from a communication to the Rajah of Jheend by his newswriter in Delhi, dated May 17th, six days after the arrival of the mutineers :—

" ' On the 16th Ramzan, on Sunday, eighty-five sowars of the cavalry were sentenced to imprisonment at Meerut. The regiment proceeded to the gaol, and released the prisoners, and took them away, slaying the European sentries : they then set fire to the houses in the lines, and slew old and young. Some 300 Europeans and Natives were killed in the conflict. Some cavalry and a regiment of infantry have arrived at Delhi. Mr. Fraser and some other gentlemen went with some sowars to quell the disturbance : the cavalry attacked and killed all the Europeans, and then went down to cantonments and burnt the artillery and infantry lines, and the blackguards of the city looted the shops. In the afternoon, the sowars offered their services to the king, and said they would place him on the throne, and that he should take the opportunity, and give up to them his guns and magazine. What they required, he did. He promised, and gave up his son to them. They attacked the Government magazine, when they knocked down the wall of the magazine, which caused much injury to the people. There were many Europeans killed ; in short, only those of the English who concealed themselves escaped, but none others. The king has appointed one Meer Nawab as kotwal. The whole place is in disturbance. The king has sent his son to inspire confidence, but the ill-disposed are plundering everywhere. The king has encamped outside the city with six regiments ; he is old. The officials are those of a worn-out government. The Jahgeerdars, in deference to the English, have not girded their loins. There are no arrangements for any provision, much less for anything else. The sepoys are ready to give their lives, and to take the lives of others. To-day, Wednesday, some fifty odd Europeans, who had secreted themselves, were killed. They are hunting for more, and if any be found they will be killed. If they have escaped, so much the better. It is like the atrocities of Nadir Shah. On Tuesday the king rode through the city, and encouraged the people to throw open their shops ; but the people would not be comforted ; many shops have been deserted. The civilization of fifty-three years has been destroyed in three hours ; good men have been plundered, scoundrels enriched. A regiment has come from Allyghur ; they have not spared their officers ; three regiments and one battery of artillery of Delhi, two regiments and 500 troops from Meerut, and a regiment from Allyghur, are now in Delhi. All the magazine has been placed in the fort. The king has summoned different principal men of Delhi to make arrangements ; they have pleaded sickness and incompetency, and sowars have been despatched to Utwur and Jaipoor. It remains to be seen what will come of it. The Delhi people have fallen into difficulties : God's will be done. This has been composed with care, and in a spirit of loyalty. The state of the people is not to be

described. They are alive, but they despair of their lives. There is no cure for such a curse. The sepoys are without a leader.' "

"The story of the second eye-witness is even more circumstantial," &c.—*The Sepoy Revolt,* pp. 97, 98.

"The foregoing circumstantial account is clearly assumed to have been furnished by an eye-witness; and this witness is a "newswriter in Delhi." Were his statements all correct, there would still remain a doubt as to his having been an eye-witness of all the circumstances recorded by him, he having been in Delhi, and some of them having occurred at Meerut and Allyghur.

His first statement, that eighty-five sowars were sentenced at Meerut "on Sunday," is incorrect; the court-martial having closed its proceedings on Friday, the 8th of May 1857,* and the last act of a court-martial being to pronounce sentence.

"The regiments then proceeded to the gaol, and released the prisoners," says this writer; while all other accounts, written by correspondents on the spot, state that it was the cavalry regiment alone that thus acted.

"Slaying the European sentries." It is unusual to place European sentries over civil gaols. The condemned troopers had been handed over to the civil power on the 9th of May, from which date they were no longer under a European military guard.

The scene then changes to Delhi, where, according to the newswriter, "the cavalry attacked and killed all the Europeans." It is scarcely necessary to inform the intelligent reader that there were many Europeans at Delhi, on the 11th of May, who were not only not killed, but were not even attacked by the cavalry.

By the afternoon of the same day, the *Sepoy Revolt's* "eye-witness" states, the cavalry "went down to cantonments, and burnt the artillery and infantry lines." It is well known that the infantry lines were not burnt even as late as the evening

* Blue Book, "Further Papers (No. 8A) relative to the Insurrection in the East Indies."

of that day; many of the sepoys went to their lines on the evening of the 11th, and divested themselves of their arms, accoutrements, and uniform; and Colonel Knyvett, Lieutenant Peile, Ensign Gambier, and other officers of the 38th, visited the quarter-guard in the lines of that regiment the same evening.

"They" (the sowars), continues the newswriter, "attacked the Government magazine, when they knocked down the wall of the magazine." Willoughby, Forrest, Raynor, Buckley, Crowe, Shaw, Scully, Edwards, and others had the honour of knocking down the walls by blowing up the building. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the sowars did not make the attack on the magazine; for the mutineers, specified by Captain Forrest as those who appeared at the magazine, were—"a subadar of the 38th native infantry, * * * a native officer in the king's service, * * * with a strong guard of the king's own soldiers," and "sepoys of the 11th and 20th regiments N. I."* The presence of sowars, it will be noticed, is not even distantly hinted at; and although the mutineers were arrant fools, they were not so stupid as to send cavalry to attack the high stone or brick walls of an enclosure.

The "eye-witness," who, a little while ago, "killed *all*† the Europeans," now informs the world that "there were *many*† Europeans killed." Not content with stating this plain fact, he must needs venture a reason why so few escaped; and that reason turns out to be as nearly as possible the opposite of the truth. "Only those of the English," says he, "who concealed themselves escaped, but none others." Most of those English people who concealed themselves were discovered and slaughtered; while those of them who stood out like "a city set on a hill," for the most part escaped: take as instances of the latter the defenders of the magazine, the party at the Cashmere gate, and the crowd assembled at the flag-staff tower on the ridge. Of the manner in which those who hid themselves fared, the writer, evidently in utter forgetfulness of what he had said

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 76, 77.

† *Italics* are not used in the original.

before, furnishes a numerically exaggerated example when he states,—" To-day, Wednesday, some fifty odd Europeans, who had secreted themselves, were killed."

" A regiment has come from Allyghur," writes the newsmonger, in a letter " dated May 17th"; and to make the matter more sure, " a regiment from Allyghur" is affirmed to be " now in Delhi." The regiment at Allyghur was the 9th, and it did not mutiny until the 21st of May, four days after the date of the letter which declares that corps to be " now in Delhi."

The newswriter then goes on to tell what the said " regiment from Allyghur" did, or rather what it did not; leaving the reader to infer, from that negative, what was supposed to have been done,—" They have not spared their officers." The truth, however, is, that not a single officer of the 9th regiment at Allyghur, or any member of an officer's family there, was injured in person by any mutineer of that regiment.

So much for the " eye-witness" of *The Sepoy Revolt.*

VI. " Some days after the loss of Delhi, Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer in charge of the magazine, made his appearance at Meerut, blackened with gunpowder, and sinking rapidly from the effects of wounds and exhaustion ; and it was then learned that he had blown up the place to prevent it falling into the hands of the mutineers."—*The Sepoy Revolt,* pp. 89, 90.

If it had not been ascertained, until the arrival of Lieutenant Willoughby at Meerut, that the magazine had been blown up by him and his comrades, that fact would never have been known, as the brave fellow never reached that place alive. Captain Forrest states that " Lieutenant Willoughby was killed two or three days afterwards" (that is after the Delhi magazine had been blown up), " on the road to Meerut." *

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* Blue Book, " East India [King of Delhi]," p. 77.

VII. "The act of H. M.'s 5th fusiliers, who scratched a crucifix on their bayonets, and, kissing the weapon, swore to wash out the mark in the hearts' blood of the rebels, only embodied the feelings of every man of British extraction."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 96.

It may be presumed that H. M.'s 5th fusiliers were constituted of much the same religious elements as other English regiments, Roman Catholics and Protestants in about equal numbers; and yet, the fiction supposes either that all were Catholics, or that the Protestant portion of the regiment had no scruples as to swearing on the cross. The tale is very dramatic; as much so, to a certain degree, perhaps, as that of some of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders swearing over Miss Wheeler's hair. The latter, however, is superior, inasmuch as it aids the imagination, by adding the particulars of time and place, and by this means greatly heightens the effect of the scene. The meagre and incongruous fiction of the cross-swearing fusiliers might do well enough for the mummers; the more complete and effective fable of the Highlanders might not have been beneath the attention of Shakespeare.

VIII. "He was obeyed in every case but that of the collector of Gya, Mr. Alonzo Money, who refused to abandon the treasury under his charge, containing a large sum, and ultimately brought it into Dinapore under charge of a company of H. M.'s 37th."—*The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 177.

Mr. Money also obeyed in the first instance; and he had actually left the station and the treasure. But, thinking better on the matter, he returned, called in a company, or a detachment, of H. M.'s 64th foot, and, placing the treasure under their charge, succeeded eventually in conveying it to Calcutta.

IX. "The gentle and gifted Lawrence had perished miserably by the hand of a traitor."— *The Sepoy Revolt*, p. 85.

"On the 2nd of July, Sir Henry Lawrence marched out against the mutineers with nearly all his force. * * * * The traitors, artillery and infantry, turned upon him as soon as they got well outside the defences, and it was with difficulty that he got back to cover, seriously wounded, and with heavy loss to his little band, who, however, by springing a mine, blew up a great number of the enemy."—*Ibid*, p. 119.

Sir Henry Lawrence was wounded, on the 2nd of July, by a fragment of an 8-inch shell which burst inside the Residency. He had marched out on the 30th of June, and encountered the enemy at Chinhut. The infantry, native it is presumed, were not traitors, and did not turn upon the British, but fought for them, as is shown fully in the 2nd chapter of this work. Sir Henry was not wounded in this engagement. As the authorities for the assertions here made are elsewhere quoted, they will not be more particularly referred to in this place.

The alleged "springing a mine" demands a little consideration. No mine appears to have been prepared or thought of at the time of the return from Chinhut; but from the great number of casualties which had occurred in that engagement, the strength of the British force was so much reduced as to render the abandonment of the Muchee Bhawun fort necessary: to prevent it and its contents of ammunition, provisions, &c. falling into the hands of the enemy, it was resolved to bring thence the treasure and guns, and destroy "as much as possible all spare ammunition." To divert the attention of the enemy from this movement, shortly before 12 P. M. of the 30th of June, the mortars and guns from the British batteries opened fire; and by 12·15 of the 1st of July the head of the column was at the Lower Water Gate, and the whole of the troops were soon after within the other British fortifications about the Residency. A few minutes later, "a shake of the earth, a volume of fire, a terrific report, and an immense mass of black smoke, shooting far up into the air, announced to Lucknow that 240 barrels of gunpowder, and

594,000 rounds of ball and gun ammunition, had completed the destruction of Muchee Bhawun."* This explosion may probably have originated the report of the British springing a mine; but there is nothing to show that any of the enemy suffered on this occasion.

* See pp. 43 to 45 of "The Defence of Lucknow."

CHAPTER II.

FICTIONS OF "THE INDIAN REBELLION."*

X. "The authorities at Belgaum, in the Dekhan, *declined* to reward a native police officer, named Mutu, who saved the province from insurrectionary outbreak. And why? Because it turned out that *he was a Christian!* And any reward to him, it was thought, might excite native prejudices."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., pp. 308, 309.

MUTU and his history are well known to the people in and about Belgaum. He was an inferior clerk in the Revenue Commissioner's office, where, under the care of Mr. Reeves, then Revenue Commissioner, now Member of Council, he rose to the post of head clerk. Subsequently, Mutu was promoted to Fouzdar, a sort of Superintendent of Police, at Belgaum; and he held this appointment at the time of the mutinies. Part of his duty was to look after bad characters. Two men who were suspected of disaffection to the British rule gave Mutu information regarding a letter, or regarding letters, written by conspirators at Belgaum to some people at Poona; the treasonous correspondence was intercepted, and the traitors were blown away from guns. Whether or no Mutu paid the informers, is not certain: he says he did; they say he did not. After this, he was promoted to the office of Deputy Collector, by way of reward, of course, for the important discovery he had been the means of communicating to Government; and he was further offered a present of shawls. He refused them, declaring that he wanted land. A certain period is allowed to Deputy Collectors, after their appointment, to

* *The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results.* In a Series of Letters from the Rev. ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D., Calcutta. 2nd Edition. James Nisbet & Co. May 4, 1858.

prepare themselves for an examination on points relative to their duties and the Regulations. When this period had expired in Mutu's case, it was found that he (whether from incapacity, or from a presumption on his part that the discovery of the treasonous correspondence was of itself a sufficient title to office, is not known) could not pass the usual examination, and that he was generally unfit for the post he had been thrown into. Here great difficulty was experienced as to the way in which Mutu ought to be disposed of. The appointment required talents which he did not possess; and yet he was considered worthy of some reward. To make matters worse, charges of bribery and corruption were preferred against him, whether well founded or the result of jealousy or enmity is not known, as he was not brought to trial; and he himself seriously complicated the matter by bringing certain general and indefinite charges against his superior officer, the official who had pronounced him incompetent. Just at this time, when Mutu and his affairs and complexities threatened to occupy more time and cause more official trouble than the conspiracy itself, Government, at the suggestion of the highest political authority in Belgaum, came to the wise, humane, and liberal resolution of cutting the Gordian knot, by washing Mutu clean of all the charges that had been brought against him, and by making him the munificent offer of either a life-pension of £600 per annum, or a grant in perpetuity of land of the value of £50 per annum. He accepted the latter. Thus was the poor Brahmin convert well provided for, and saved an immensity of trouble, expense, and disgrace; for, guilty or not guilty of the charges preferred against him, there was such a "cloud of witnesses" ready to swear him guilty, that he must have been legally swamped had he been brought to trial. Perhaps it will be thought that, having obtained his land in perpetuity, he went his way in contentment, and that the curtain dropped. Not so. He then put in a claim for a public presentation of the shawls; but as he had refused them when they were first offered, his claim was negatived. Such is the current history of the *ill-used* Mutu.

XI. "With the fall of the chief [General Wheeler] and some of his right-hand men, the remainder of the little band seem to have been smitten with a sense of the utter hopelessness of prolonged resistance. They did not, they could not, know that relief was so near at hand, —that the gallant Colonel Neil, who had already saved Benares and the fortress of Allahabad with his Madras fusiliers, was within two or three days' march of them. Had this been known to them, they would doubtless have striven to hold out during these two or three days."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., pp. 51, 52.

"All the first accounts that reached Government and private individuals went to show that the brave old man had not only been mortally wounded, but dead, *before* the fatal capitulation. It now turns out that he had only been greatly disabled, not actually dead."—*Ibid*, p. 168.

It is not true that the remainder of the little band were "smitten with a sense of the utter hopelessness of prolonged resistance"; for Captain Mowbray Thomson informs us that —"Sir Hugh Wheeler, still hopeful of relief from Calcutta, and suspicious of treachery on the part of the Nana, for a long time most strenuously opposed the idea of making terms. * * * * All of us who were juniors adopted the views of the brave old general; but we well knew that it was only consideration for the weak and the wounded that turned the vote against us." *

Nor is it true that, at the time the beleaguered garrison entered into the capitulation, the gallant Colonel Neil, "with his Madras fusiliers, was within two or three days' march of them." The capitulation was entered into on the 26th of June; but the first batch of the Madras fusiliers, without Colonel Neil, did not arrive in the vicinity of Cawnpore until the 16th of July, after a clear interval of twenty days.

That, before the capitulation, General Wheeler had "been greatly disabled" is not true. So far is it from the truth, that there is nothing to indicate that the general was even slightly wounded; but, on the contrary, it is stated that, on the fatal 27th of June, "Poor old Sir Hugh Wheeler, his lady and daughter, walked down to the boats." †

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* Story of Cawnpore, p. 150. † Ibid, p. 164.

XII. "Witness the 'staunch and loyal' [60th] regiment at Umballa, which, at its own earnest solicitation, marched with the British troops to inflict summary vengeance on the Delhi mutineers! Why, in one of the very first encounters with the rebels, they suddenly turned round, and joining the enemy, fiercely assaulted the British in the rear."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., p. 80.

The reason why the Delhi column was encumbered with the 60th N. I. was not that it was considered "staunch and loyal," but that it could do no harm while accompanied by so many Europeans, while it "might do great mischief if left" behind.* The regiment was not marched to Delhi with the European column, but was turned off to Rohtuck, where, besides its own officers, there were few or no Europeans.† By this arrangement the corps was kept 50 miles away from Delhi, and prevented from suddenly turning round and joining the enemy in one of the very first encounters with him. It was on the 10th of June that this regiment mutinied at Rohtuck and fired on the officers, who, however, escaped without injury to the camp at Delhi.‡ The attack on the British made by the 60th N. I. took place on the night of the 13th of June;§ which engagement, so far from being "one of the very first encounters with the rebels," was the fifth. The first encounter was at Badlee-ka-Serai, on the 8th of June; the second at the ridge before Delhi, on the same date; the third came off on the 9th, when poor Quentin Battye fell mortally wounded; the fourth occurred on the 12th, on which occasion Captain Knox, of H. M.'s 75th foot, was killed; and the fifth (if the firing that took place on both sides on the morning of the 13th, after one of the British columns had marched up to within a few hundred yards of the walls of the city and back again, be excluded) was that in which the 60th N. I. took a part, on the night of the 13th.

XIII. "About a week ago‖ it was known that Sir Henry

* Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, p. 184. † Ibid, p. 193.
‡ Ibid, p. 202. § Ibid, pp. 204, 205.
‖ Written on the 20th of July 1857.

Lawrence—whose defence of Lucknow with a mere handful, amid the rage of hostile myriads, has been the admiration of all India—had gone out to attack a vast body of armed rebels; that his *native* force, with characteristic treachery, had turned round upon him at the commencement of the fight; and that, with his two hundred Europeans, he had to cut his way back, with Spartan daring, to the Residency. It was also known that, on that occasion, the brave leader was severely wounded; and two days ago, intelligence reached us, which, alas! has since been confirmed, that on the 4th instant he sank under the effects of his wounds."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., pp. 60, 61.

"Witness, again, the collected remnants—the 'staunch and loyal' remnants—of the dispersed mutineer regiments at Lucknow, whom Sir Henry Lawrence had so fondly caressed and loaded with honours and pecuniary rewards for their supposed fidelity to the British crown! When, with these and only two hundred British soldiers, he made one of the most daring and best planned sorties on record against a host of about *fourteen thousand* armed men, the caressed, honoured, and rewarded 'loyals,' after a momentary show of bravery, abruptly wheeled round, and, joining the army of traitors, perfidiously fought against their noble chief and benefactor, with his handful of British!—Sir Henry, in cutting his way back, with his intrepid little band, received a wound which in a few days proved mortal." *—*Ibid*, pp. 80, 81.

The battle here referred to is that of Chinhut, which took place on the 30th of June 1857. It is improper to call this attack a sortie, as the British were not then besieged; and, moreover, they were so long, after going out, before they discovered the enemy, that they were at one time on the point of returning because they could not find his whereabouts. In an unlucky moment they changed their mind, and finally discovered the enemy in front, on both flanks, and in the rear.

In the first of these extracts Sir Henry is said to have been severely wounded in cutting his way back to the Residency; and it is implied that the wounds then received caused his death. The second extract says directly that the wound then received "proved mortal." This is incorrect; for a lady who was at that time in the garrison, and who well knew Sir Henry, says, "Sir Henry Lawrence and Colonel Inglis returned all

* This is dated 14th of August 1857.

safe" *; and the next day, Sir Henry is found aiding the movement of abandoning the "Muchee Bhawun fort"†; and on the following day "arrangements were made for posting and stationing the Muchee Bhawun force, * * * and placing the field-pieces in position; all of which Sir H. Lawrence himself personally superintended." ‡ It was on this day, July 2nd, that, according to the testimony of an eye-witness who was himself wounded on the same occasion, "an eight-inch shell from the eight-inch howitzer of the enemy, entered the room at the window, and exploding, a fragment struck the Brigadier-general on the upper part of the right thigh, near the hip, inflicting a fearful wound. * * * It was at once pronounced that Sir Henry Lawrence's wound was mortal." § The mortal wound, then, was received on the second day after the Chinhut affair.

But the worst points in these extracts from *The Indian Rebellion* are those in which Sir Henry's "*native* force" (not a small portion of it) is said to have "with characteristic treachery * * turned round upon him at the commencement of the fight"; and in which "the collected remnants—the 'staunch and loyal' remnants—of the dispersed mutineers at Lucknow" are so bitterly and unjustly represented as abruptly wheeling "round, and, joining the army of traitors, perfidiously" fighting "against their noble chief and benefactor." Who the traitors were, and what they actually did, Sir T. Inglis distinctly states in his despatch:—"The Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the Brigadier-general in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels." If these Oude artillerymen and drivers are "the collected remnants—the 'staunch and loyal' remnants—of the dispersed mutineer regiments at Lucknow," then is it true that those

* A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow, p. 74.
† The Defence of Lucknow, p. 43.
‡ Ibid, p. 45.
§ Ibid, pp. 45, 46.

remnants were treacherous and perfidious. But what authority is there for the assumption that the remnants of the scattered mutinous regiments were so suddenly turned into "Oude artillerymen and drivers"? None whatever. Nor is there anything to show that the veritable traitorous Oude artillerymen and drivers were collected remnants" of "dispersed mutineer regiments." There was no regiment of artillery at Lucknow, much less were there regiments of artillery, to mutiny and disperse.

The remnants present at Chinhut were 170 men of the 13th N. I., and 50 men of the 48th N. I. How these acted on that occasion is stated by Captain R. P. Anderson, who informs us * that "The Seiks and sepoys with the party both behaved very well indeed, and kept up a fire, as they retreated, on the enemy." Mr. John Lawrence, one of the volunteer cavalry, who was present at Chinhut, says—"The 32nd also retreat; mixed up with them are some of the braves of the 13th native infantry,—noble fellows, who were seen carrying wounded soldiers to the gun-carriages, abandoning their own wounded comrades on the ground." How the Seiks and sepoys subsequently conducted themselves will be best inferred from the following extracts. It should be remembered that the reverse at Chinhut occurred on the 30th of June 1857, and it is on this date that the remnants are said to have treacherously turned against the British, and joined the enemy. The whole of the remnants consisted of about 220 men of the 13th, upwards of 50 men of the 48th, and about 100 men of the 71st N. I., who stood to us when the greater number of the sepoys of these corps mutinied on the 30th of May. It will be seen that these men for the most part remained faithful to the British cause, and ably and willingly assisted at the glorious defence of Lucknow.—

July 8th.—"All the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the 13th, 48th, and 71st behaved nobly."—*The Defence of Lucknow, by a Staff Officer.* †

* A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow, p. 51. † Captain Wilson.

20th. — "The 13th, 71st, and 48th sepoys all behaved well."—*Id.*

August 21st.—"A sepoy of the 13th on sentry duty saw him, covered him with his musket, and compelled him to come in."—*Id.*

24th.—"Two sepoys of the 13th were also slightly wounded."—*Id.*

26th.—"A Jemadar of the 71st was shot dead near the Redan."—*Id.*

31st.—"All the 13th Native Infantry employed in making a new sunken battery."—*Id.*

September 1st.—"Great progress was made in the battery which was erected by the 13th Native Infantry."—*Id.*

2nd.—"The advance of a month's pay, which had been offered to all natives, was declined by the 13th, 48th, and 71st, and pensioners, and only four rupees each was received by the Seikh cavalry, as all preferred to receive it in arrears hereafter. This spoke volumes for their faithfulness."—*Id.*

4th.—"This [Major Bruère's] death was very greatly lamented by the sepoys of the 13th, with whom he was very popular: they insisted on carrying his remains to the grave, and his funeral was attended by all the men of the 13th who could be permitted to leave their trenches."—*Id.*

5th.—"Eight sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, assisted by three artillerymen, loaded and worked the 18-pounder in the 13th battery, and after three or four rounds succeeded in silencing the 18-pounder opposed to them. The sepoys were very proud of this battery."—*Id.*

6th.—"A very excellent native officer [a subadar], of the 13th Regiment Native Infantry, was killed in the 13th battery."—*Id.*

12th.—"In the evening after dark, the 71st sepoys were employed under Lieutenant Langmore in bringing in some tents which were piled up in the Residency garden; while so employed, one of the enemy came up, evidently having mistaken our party for one of his own. He was immediately seized by two sepoys and brought in."—*Id.*

15*th*.—" A shaft was commenced in the Baillie Guard gate by the sepoys of the 13th Regiment Native Infantry."—*Id.*

17*th*.—" Two sepoys of the 13th died in hospital of their wounds."—*Id.*

" Before our first reinforcement arrived, our sepoys in the inside had constant conversations with the mutineers. Our men would say, 'What have you got now for being so unfaithful? You had much better disperse.' The mutineers would reply, 'What can we do? If we go to our homes, the Feringees [Europeans] will hunt us to death; it is better to remain here and die.' Then they would say to our men, 'Leave the infidels and come out, we'll give you good food, and plenty of it.' Our sepoys would say, 'We have eaten the Company's salt,—we cannot break faith with our masters, like you have.' This answer exasperated the mutineers, who would say, 'You are as bad as they are; you have become vile Christians; but, never mind, we are off to kill all the men of your reinforcement; and when we return we will pay you off; we will not spare a single man.'

" Very often, when these conversations were going on, our Seiks used to call to their officers just to listen to the manner in which they were 'drawing out' the enemy. Once, at an outpost, a fellow came up and tried to make our sepoys go over to the enemy; there was a sharp young sentry on duty, and he quietly kept the man in talk whilst he called another of his guard, and said, in a low voice, 'Knock that chap over,' which was no sooner said than done,—thus putting an end to the conversation in rather an abrupt manner." *

" With respect to the native troops, I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th Regiment—under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken, to a most galling fire of round shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them; and every

* A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow, pp. 85, 86.

effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion."—*Inglis's Despatch*, last paragraph but one.

To complete the evidence of the fidelity of the remnants, it needs only be added, that by a recent general order they form the nucleus of an infantry corps, which is to bear the proud title of the " Lucknow Regiment."

XIV. " The whole European community [at Delhi], civil and military,—men, women, and children,—have been cruelly massacred !"—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., p. 4.

" Since then, more recent tidings lead us so far to modify the *all*, and make it *nearly all*,—not *all* absolutely. A few are now known to have escaped from the massacre —some *six* or *seven* in all. It is just possible that, amid the terrible confusion, a few *may* yet cast up, though of this there is no sanguine expectation here. I fear, therefore, that I must repeat that nearly all the Europeans at Delhi have been cruelly massacred !"—*Ibid*, p. 5.

These passages should, for the sake of truth, have been struck out of the second edition, which was published in May 1858; as, before the end of 1857, it was known in India that nearly all the persons named in the subjoined list had either escaped from Delhi or had been preserved alive in the city :—

List.—Sir T. Metcalfe 1, Brigadier Graves 1, Mr. LeBas 1; Majors Abbott 1, Knyvett 1, Paterson and family 4; Captains DeTeissier and family 3, Wallace and wife 2, Tyler and wife 2, Gordon and wife 2, Nicol 1, Michell 1; Drs. Batson and family 4, Wood and wife 2, Balfour 1, Stewart 1; Lieutenants Peile and family 3, Mew 1, Forrest and family 5, Raynor and family 3, Thomason 1, Grant 1, Taylor, 1, Drummond 1, Salkeld 1, Aislabie 1, Vibart 1, Wilson 1, Proctor 1, Wheatley 1, Glubb 1, Osborne 1, Holland 1 ; Ensigns Martineau 1, Elton 1, Gambier 1 ; Conductor Buckley 1 ; Messrs. Humphreys 1, Lease or Dease 1, De Gruyther and family 6, Lambert 1, Marshall 1, Wagetrieber

and family 4, Aldwell's family 4, T. Roods 1, J. Mitchell 1, A. H. Spencer 1, Cummings 1, Healy and wife 2, Taylor 1, Baun 1, Murphy and wife 2, J. Morley 1, Mr. Berkeley 1, Mrs. Berkeley 1, Miss Horton 1, Mrs. Fraser 1, Mrs Hutchinson 1, Mrs. Roberts and son 2, Mrs. Hollings 1, Mrs. Trowson 1, Mrs. Holland 1, Mrs. Leeson 1, Mrs. Abbott 1, Miss Smith 1, Miss Haldane 1, Mrs. Taylor 1, Captain Fraser's child 1, Miss Winfield 1, Mrs. Fraser* 1, Serjeant Major of the 74th and wife 2, Serjeant Major of the 38th and wife 2, Bazar Serjeant Fleming and wife 2.—Total 111 souls.—Besides these, there were more than "40 others, men, women, and children, all Christians," but not Europeans, who were allowed to live in the city, on the understanding that they "were all Mahomedans, and that if there were any Christians they would become Mahomedans, and that it was not lawful to kill such as turn to Mahomedanism of their own accord." † The following probably belong to this number: John Everett, J. Brown, Pereira, Harrington, Holguette and family, and the Roman Catholic padre.

XV. "Well, Mr. Grant took it upon him, from whatever motives, as civil governor, to address a communication to General Neill on the subject of his proceedings as military chief. The precise terms of the document have not been published. But, at the time, it was understood to be in the way of questioning the General's warrant for such proceedings, of finding fault with his acts of summary justice, and of requesting a reference in future to the civil authorities; on which the General was understood to have replied in the way of repudiating all interference on the part of Mr. Grant, reminding the latter that the district was under military law, and that the Act of Council distinctly authorized the military authorities to deal summarily with offenders, and recommending his reprover to attend to his own business, while he would to his. Such, at least, is the version of the matter which has been current among the best informed parties in this metropolis."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., pp. 246, 247; date of letter, 24th Dec. 1857.

* This poor lady reached Cawnpore, where she is believed to have escaped the massacre of the 15th of July 1857 by dying of fever on board of Major Vibart's boat as it was being brought back.—*Story of Cawnpore*, p. 26.

† Blue Book "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 113, 114.

On the date on which the letter from which the foregoing extract is taken was commenced, there appeared in the *Phœnix* of Calcutta a manly epistle from the accused party, completely negativing an anonymous charge that had been trumped up in England, to the effect that he had released one hundred and fifty mutineers who had been placed in confinement by General Neill. It might be imagined from reading the preceding, and the following extract, that the writer of the latter had by some sort of intuition anticipated the slander that appears in the former, for nothing could more precisely meet the accusation in every particular. There is not a single material point in the slander that is not directly met in the letter of the accused. Let it be observed that the charge was based on a report "current among the best informed parties in this metropolis." These parties, it will be easily seen, could not have been personally cognisant of what was passing in the central provinces; while the accused, who was on the spot, must have best known what was occurring there. Notwithstanding this, his statements are set at nought, as though he were no gentleman, and had no character to sustain. The averments of his detractors, which must necessarily have been based upon mere hearsay, are esteemed worthy of record; while the straightforward refutation put forth by the best informed authority is wholly ignored. Let it also be considered that any official communication addressed to General Neill must be forthcoming on the records not only of the office of the sender but also on those of the recipient; and so of any document addressed by the general to the Honorable J. P. Grant: the correspondence could not have died with the general, but must have been preserved on the records which he, on his departure to Lucknow, left in charge of his successor at Cawnpore. It is improbable, therefore, that Mr. Grant, though he were no gentleman, should, with the knowledge of these facts, have ventured so far to commit himself as he must have done, if the statements contained in the following extract are untrue; seeing that detection would be inevitable from either the one record or the other.

Extract of a Letter, dated Benares, 20th December 1857, *from the Honorable* J. P. GRANT, *Lieutenant Governor of the Central Provinces, to the Right Honorable* Viscount CANNING.

"I have never seen reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures. As it has appeared, I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, official or unofficial, with General Neill, or any concern of any sort with any act of his. I have never had any correspondence with or about General Neill, and I do not remember ever to have seen him. * * * *

"I have the same feelings towards these perfidious murderers that other Englishmen have, and I am not chary of expressing them. No man is more strongly impressed with the necessity of executing, on this occasion, justice with the most extreme severity than I am. * * *."—*Calcutta Phœnix,* 24th Dec. 1857.*

XVI. "Elsewhere the sepoys took up living children by the legs, with the heads hanging downwards, and tore them up in two: In one instance, four children of one family were thus barbarously torn up before the eyes of their father and mother, who themselves were soon afterwards shockingly abused and butchered."—*The Indian Rebellion,* 2nd edn., p. 59.

"Elsewhere" may mean anywhere. If the name of the station was known, the space it would have occupied when written would have been very little more than that taken up by "Elsewhere." But it is a very convenient word when one does not know *where,* and when one is indisposed to take the trouble of ascertaining *where.* "Elsewhere," too, is a convenient word to use when, in consequence of a doubt as to the authenticity or genuineness of the alleged fact which an irresistible impulse compels you to let out, you do not wish to make the reader as wise as yourself, or to put him in a way of testing the truth of your communication. To those, moreover, who from any cause prefer accepting your asseverations as facts to

* Extracted into the *Mofussilite* of January 12, 1859, pp. 24, 25.

taking the trouble of inquiring for themselves, and who never do inquire, "elsewhere" is, perhaps, as useful as any more definite word could be.

"In one instance" is as indefinite as "elsewhere," and is equally convenient and potent for the purposes above specified.

But such indefinite terms, when they are applied to alleged facts of horror on which the character of a nation depends, and which affect the connection between two great nations and the bearing of the respective people towards each other, are extremely dangerous to the mutual welfare. Nothing can be more disastrous to the British Indian trade, commerce, and empire itself, than that the people of Britain and the people of India should remain in ignorance of each other's real character, and entertain mistaken notions on this important subject. Humanity, as well as our social, commercial, and political prosperity, demands that we should examine with all seriousness and scrupulous minuteness every charge of brutality alleged against the people of India with reference to the recent outbreak; and that we should, when placing these alleged brutalities before the public, furnish every possible particular of time, place, and circumstance. The truth of history makes the same demand.

This reckless indefiniteness tends to multiply stories of horror, or to exaggerate their circumstances. The tale at the head of these remarks is one out of three erroneous versions of an over true story; so that, while the four versions obtain currency, the native of India must appear at least three times as guilty, with respect to these alleged outrages, as he is in reality. The foregoing version goes still further, inasmuch as it, by mentioning "one instance" in which four children were so brutally treated, implies, with the aid of the context, that there was at least another instance in which other children were treated in a similar manner. In fact, the use of the vague term "elsewhere" may imply one thousand cases as well as one.

Shortly after the outbreak commenced, the story now extracted from *The Indian Rebellion* became current, and was referred by the narrators to Meerut. Now, there is but one

case at that station in which the number of children nearly approximates to that given in the "one instance"; that is, the case of Serjeant Law, of the artillery, the particulars of which are furnished below. But before proceeding to that, it will be necessary to take a glance at the other two versions to which the fact has given birth;—

"An officer and his wife [at Delhi] were tied to trees, their children tortured to death before them, and portions of their flesh crammed down their parents' throats; the wife was then violated before her husband—he mutilated in a manner too horrible to relate—then both were burnt to death."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.

The same account was current soon after the beginning of the outbreak, with a few slight differences: the locality was Meerut instead of Delhi, a serjeant and his family were the victims, and the parents were said to have been tied to bed-posts.

The thing cannot have happened at Delhi; because, all the military officers who were at that station on the 11th of May 1857, with the exception of Captain Douglas and those who were killed or mortally wounded near the church, managed to effect their escape from that station.

The third version, which is nearer to the truth than those already given, is as follows:—"An English serjeant was living with his wife and six children beyond the limits of the cantonment [at Meerut]; he and three of his little ones were massacred in a way that must for very shame be left untold: the mother, with the other three, all bleeding and mutilated, managed to crawl to the European lines about midnight."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 55.

A more detailed and correct account, scarcely less horrible, has been gleaned from various reliable sources. It is thus given:—Serjeant Law, his wife, and five children, were living beyond the precincts of cantonments at Meerut. Early on the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, the men of the Depôt of Instruction to which the serjeant had been attached, went to his house in search of him, and found him

lying about forty yards in front of his dwelling, with his body ripped open and his head cut off; and one of his children, a girl aged six years and a half, lying dead a few yards from him. In the house, two children were found alive; one, Eliza, aged nine years and ten days, had her arms hacked nearly off the shoulders, and left hanging only by the skin, besides having both of her cheeks cut off so that no fluid could be retained in the mouth; the other, a boy upwards of five years of age, had a part of his ear cut off, besides being otherwise severely wounded.* These two children were conveyed in a litter to the artillery hospital, where the girl died the next day. Happily, the mother and the remaining two children had crawled about midnight into the same hospital, and so escaped alive. The attack on the family was commenced while they were at prayers. From the apparent lateness of the hour, it is probable that the deed was done by the rabble, as the sepoys had left for Delhi.

The scene of the alleged atrocities described in the subjoined extracts is Allahabad; and the perpetrators are the mutineers of either the 6th Bengal native infantry or the irregular cavalry:—

XVI. "In another well-authenticated case, the *European servant* of a mess was seized and slowly *cut up into small pieces, and portions of his flesh* [*were*†] *forced down the throats of his children,* before they were themselves cruelly destroyed! Even the *native* servants of the same mess were 'marked' by the brutal mutineers, by having their hands, and ears, and noses cut off!"—*The Indian Rebellion,* 2nd edn., p. 59; date of letter, July 15, 1857.

"One of the outrages which will bear mentioning was committed upon a European servant of the mess. This man was cut up into little pieces, and portions of his flesh [were†] forced down the throats of his children. Even the native servants of the mess was‡ 'marked' by the mutineers, by having their hands or ears cut off."—*Bengal Hurkaru,* p. 18, July 6, 1857.

* These particulars of the mutilations are said by a correspondent in the *Bombay Standard* to have been furnished by the surviving widow to a medical officer of the Bengal establishment.

† Not in the original. ‡ So in the original.

The supposition that both of these accounts had an independent origin is attended with difficulties. It does not appear likely that the writers of both should by accident have omitted the plural verb "were" from its proper place, and have left the singular verb "was" to do duty (understood) after "portions." It is still less probable that both writers should, by the purest accident, have quoted the word "marked." It is equally unlikely that the use of so many identical words as occur in both, from "cut up" down to "hands," and the identical order in which these words are arranged, should have been purely accidental. On these grounds, the supposition of independence of origin seems untenable.

If it is alleged that both of the writers obtained their information from a common source, a difficulty of another character is immediately felt. Which of them has in this case given us the faithful version? Both cannot be right. If that of *The Indian Rebellion* is correct, then has the *Hurkaru* been guilty of softening the case against the mutineers, by omitting the facts, that the cutting up of the European servant was done "slowly," that the children "were themselves cruelly destroyed," and that the native servants had three distinct classes of members cut off. But no one who has carefully watched the proceedings of the *Hurkaru*, during the time of the disturbances and up to the present day, will suspect him of omitting, in favour of the mutineers, all mention of the important facts just alluded to. If, on the other hand, the *Hurkaru's* version be regarded as correct, it follows, on the supposition that both writers drew their facts from a common fountain, that *The Indian Rebellion* has unauthorisedly added the questionable particulars.

Yet another supposition remains to be considered, and that is that one of these writers drew the whole or a part of his materials from the other. This view violates no probability, as will be seen from the identities shown above. The *Hurkaru* may for a moment be supposed to have drawn all his materials from *The Indian Rebellion;* or the latter may be supposed to have derived a large portion—the main portion—of his circumstances

from the former. This seems to be the only legitimate way of accounting for the more than verbal agreement which exists between the two versions. The only question that remains to be settled is—"Which of them copied from the other?" The dates will aid us in answering this with probable correctness. The *Hurkaru's* version, it will be observed, is dated 6th July 1857; while that of *The Indian Rebellion* bears date the 15th July 1857. As it cannot be believed that the earlier copied from the later, the inference seems warrantable that *The Indian Rebellion*, or its informant, has drawn the greater portion of his version from the *Hurkaru*.

If the *Hurkaru* had not, in the article from which the extract is taken, afforded information as to the place in which the alleged outrage was supposed to have been committed, and the agents who were thought to have perpetrated it, difficulty might have been experienced in testing these alleged facts. *The Indian Rebellion* might, when copying the main incidents from the *Hurkaru*, have supplied these omissions, which would have occupied little or no more room than its seemingly gratuitously added particulars occupy. *The Indian Rebellion* deprives the reader of that clue without which it would not be possible to discover the weak point in the alleged facts. From the isolated way in which the story is introduced into *The Indian Rebellion*, the account might, for ought the reader could there learn, refer to the mess of a European regiment at Umballa, or at any other European station. But as the *Hurkaru* informs the reader that the alleged outrage is believed to have been perpetrated on the servants of the mess of the 6th N. I. at Allahabad, he furnishes the important particular which materially assists the inquirer in his search after the truth or falsehood of the alleged outrage.

"Both cannot be right," has been asserted above. The time has now come for stating that both may be wrong, in one particular at least. It is unusual to have a European servant attached to the officers' mess of a native regiment. The first point, then, to be established, is that the

officers' mess of the 6th N. I. had this unusual appendage. When the simple existence of this European servant at the date and place referred to is proved beyond a doubt, it will be time enough to inquire into his having been "cut up into little [or small] pieces" &c.

Jhansi is the locality referred to in the following extracts; time, 8th of June 1857:—

XVII. "They [the gentlemen] were tied in a long line between some trees, and had their heads struck off! Such ladies as had children were doomed to see them cut in halves before their own turn came! Then followed scenes of dishonour and torture too hideous to be narrated!"—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., p. 58; date, July 15, 1857.

"They [the gentlemen] were tied in a long line between some trees, and after a short consultation had their heads struck off. Such ladies as had children had to see them cut in halves before their own turn came."—*Calcutta Englishman*, July 9, 1857.

From the identity of words, and of their arrangement, and from a comparison of the dates, it is inferred that, in the present case, *The Indian Rebellion*, or its informant, drew his facts from the *Englishman;* and then added, from what source is not apparent, the fiction about the "dishonour and torture too hideous to be narrated!" All the notes of admiration, too, are the special property of *The Indian Rebellion.*

There is not a particle of reliable evidence to support the assertion that at Jhansi the English or other Christian females were dishonoured, in the usual acceptation of the term; nor does it seem, from the only available evidence, that any extraordinary modes of torture were resorted to with respect to the women after the children were slaughtered. The following particulars are extracted from a statement made on the 23rd March 1858 by a personal servant of Captain Skene:—"The sowars and sepoys pelted us with stones, and obliged us to separate. All the officers went to one side, and their servants joined me. The mutinous sepoys and the Ranee's men took the officers to the Jukhun Bagh,

and all the servants, including myself, were sent to the pultun. The ladies and officers were murdered near the garden. All the people of the town were with the sepoys. After perpetrating this inhuman deed, Bukish Ally, the jail darogah, sowars, and sepoys, and the Ranee, went to the pultun to the ressaldar. Bukish Ally observed that he had killed the burra sahib with one stroke. Then the subadar, the ressaldar, and the Ranee's men, came to the parade-ground, and ordered that the prisoners should be set free. We were in consequence liberated. The next morning I went to the garden of Jukhun Bagh, and saw that the bodies of the officers, ladies, and children, were lying unburied, without clothes. The third day I was told that the bodies were buried in a pit, but by whom is not exactly known."* Mrs. Mutlow, a native Christian, who was amongst those that came out of the fort, says—"Soon as we came out of the fort the sepoys came and put their guard around them" (the Europeans). She being a native, and in disguise, escaped notice, and went off as fast as she could, not waiting to see what became of the rest of the garrison.

Some particulars, gathered from a personal servant of Captain Burgess, are detailed in a letter from Nagode, dated July 19, 1857†:—"Major Skene," it is said, "marched out first; they were taken to a garden," drawn up in two rows, the "men and women separate"; the men were tied to a rope; "and then every soul, whatever the age, rank, or sex, was killed by the sword. The men died first, Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. * * * The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved. * * * The women stood with their babes in their arms and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed, but I believe they were spared any violence save death."

It remains only to be added that Captain J. W. Pinkaly, Superintendent of Jaloun, Jhansi, and Chundaree, who made a searching inquiry, on the spot, to ascertain what really took

* *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.

† *Evening Mail*, September 9 to September 11, 1857.

place at the massacre in question, found that the females had not been "dishonoured."*

XVIII. "An eye-witness to the brutal conduct of the mutinous sepoys at Allahabad, and who himself had a narrow escape from their ruthless hands, thus writes:—'A next door English neighbour of mine was visited one night by a gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys, fully equipped with destructive arms. On the hue and cry being given, I went up to the terrace of my house, and saw with my own eyes the rascals *cutting into two an infant boy of two or three years of age, while playing with his mother;* next, they *hacked into pieces the lady;* and subsequently, *most shockingly and horridly, the husband.*' The writer made his escape by a back door, and, by means of a bamboo, he managed to cross the Ganges."—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., p. 43; June 27, 1857.

"We append the following extract from a letter from Benares, dated 16th instant:—'I was an eye-witness to the brutal conduct of the mutinous sepoys at Allahabad, and have had a narrow escape from their ruthless hands almost miraculously. A next door English neighbour of mine while living at Allahabad was visited one night by a gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys fully equipped with destructive arms. On the hue and cry being given, I went up the terrace of my house and saw with my own eyes the rascals cutting into two an infant boy of two or three years of age while playing about his mother; next they hacked into pieces the lady; and while she was crying out of agonising pains for safety, I quite involuntarily and perfectly forgetting my own perilous position cried aloud—*kai kurta hai*,† at which the marauders threatened me with their sword, and subsequently felled most shockingly and horridly the husband, who was seated perfectly composed, but more like a statue than anything else. In the mean time, I and another friend of mine who was living with me succeeded to give leg bail through a back door, and by means of a bamboo, which I picked up from a native burial ground, managed to cross the river, and came to Benares with the garb of a hermit."—*Bengal Hurkaru*, June 27, 1857, p. 606.

Here is a new phenomenon in *The Indian Rebellion;* in the present case, the narrative, instead of being amplified, is curtailed;

* *Poona Observer*, April 21, 1858.

† What are (they) doing?—or, What art (thou) doing? But perhaps the writer meant, What are (you) doing?

and the abridged account bears the same date as the entire narrative. It will be observed that the quotation in *The Indian Rebellion* is unbroken, and that it appears in that portion of the letter dated the 27th of June; and it will also be borne in mind, that an unbroken quotation implies that no words have been dropped. If this quotation had been dated after the 27th of June, it might have been inferred that, on the following or some other subsequent day, another newspaper had abridged the narrative of the *Hurkaru*, and that the quotation had been made from the abridgement.

However, the unbroken quotation is in some respects an improvement upon the original: the redundancy "while living at Allahabad" is left out; the abridgement supplies the word "to" after "I went up"; the word "with" is substituted for "about"; the long passage commencing with "and while" and ending with "sword" has been omitted; and "another friend of mine who was living with me" is wholly ignored. But, one objection at least may be urged against the improvements,—that in a British court of justice, the judge and jurymen are not allowed to add to or take from the evidence tendered by a witness, but are bound to accept it as it is given, and to estimate it at its proper value. If they were permitted to dictate to the witness, and were to exercise that prerogative, they would seriously impede the discovery of truth, and would deprive themselves of much that might reveal to them the real character of the witness. In the present case, therefore, he shall be allowed to tell his own story.

But, in the first place, it is necessary to state that the date of the alleged occurrence, the name of the witness, the name of his companion, and the name of the European next door neighbour, are all unknown; the calling or profession of none of them is stated; and, in fact, there is no clue in the narrative by which any of these particulars can be ascertained: even the quarter in which the houses were situated is not hinted at, further than that between it and the river (which river, is not specified) there was a native burial ground. The story will, therefore, have to be tried principally on its own merits.

After stating that he was an eye-witness to the brutalities of the sepoys, the writer says that he "had a narrow escape from their ruthless hands almost miraculously." There is, however, nothing in the narrative to show that the sepoys ever assaulted him in any way. If he saw them at night approaching the next house, they must have passed near his door; and if there were "upwards of two dozen" of them, there were quite enough to attack him as well as his neighbour at the same time. By his own showing, they knew that he was in the house; they, after shaking their sword at him, allowed him to stand and witness the felling of the husband, to descend from the terrace, to dress himself "with the garb of a hermit," "give leg bail through a back door," pick up a bamboo "from a native burial ground," and get across the river unmolested. Coupling these circumstances with the fact of the writer being a native, there appears in his escape nothing approaching to the miraculous, or even to the marvellous. The "mutinous sepoys" must have been pretty close to the writer if he could discern that they were "fully equipped with destructive arms"; and from his having failed to show that they made any attempt to touch him, it may be inferred that those sepoys had no design upon his life.

If it were a received principle that a confused scene ought to be described in confused language, the narrative as furnished by the correspondent would be perfection itself. The arrival of the sepoys next door was followed by a "hue and cry," on hearing which our correspondent, who, from some cause or other, could not see below stairs what was going on, went up to the terrace of his house to see what was the reason of the noise. When he came there, he found that the people in the house in which the hubbub had taken place had not, like himself, been disturbed; he saw with his "own eyes" the infant boy in the act of "playing about his mother," and the husband "seated perfectly composed." Beyond the "hue and cry," it would seem, nothing had occurred next door until our correspondent reached the terrace; at least he is not willing to admit that anything further happened there which he did

not see with his "own eyes." Out of this the whole of the confusion seems to arise; the playing of the boy and the cutting of him into two are simultaneous; the lady is first "hacked into pieces," and then made to cry out "for safety"; while all this is going on, and while an interchange of communication takes place between the correspondent and the sepoys, the husband is made to be "seated perfectly composed"; and the "gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys fully equipped with destructive arms" are made to threaten the correspondent with a single "sword."

It is true that a consistent narrative might be drawn up out of the materials furnished by the correspondent; but this would have to be done at the expense of his credibility; and the account would, as far as his evidence is concerned, be utterly worthless. If it were assumed that he heard and saw certain of the particulars stated by him, it would be necessary also to assume, for the sake of consistency, that he did not see other particulars which he declares that he witnessed. This would be, in effect, to reject his testimony altogether, and to leave the modified account without any foundation in trustworthy evidence.

Since, then, no good use can be made of the witness, he may be dismissed with the admission that if he was at Allahabad at the time of the outbreak, he saw or heard something which made him afraid, and caused him to seek safety in flight to Benares. When he got there, he probably found it necessary to account for the step he had taken; and perhaps he thought he could best do this by setting himself up as the eye-witness of a horrible atrocity. If he did not tell the story better than he has written it, it is to be feared that he failed to convince the intelligent portion of his hearers that he himself had been exposed to much danger. In sadness, however, it must be said, that the atrocities which were perpetrated at Allahabad are too well established to need the testimony of such a witness as the correspondent.

XIX. " Here is another variety of incident in the terrible tragedy now enacting in the North-West, as related by an eye-witness :—An officer and his wife were attacked by many *sowars*, or mutineers of native cavalry. The brave officer singly shot dead seven of them on the spot, and at last was overcome by a number of the rebels. Instead, however, of allowing himself to be disgraced by the scoundrels, under the pressure of the awful emergency, he *first killed his wife, and then put an end to his own life!*"—*The Indian Rebellion*, 2nd edn., p. 44 ; June 24 to July 3, 1857.

" A correspondent at Benares, under date the 20th instant, writes as follows :—

" The district is at present perfectly quiet. * * *

" A man who has just arrived from the Upper Provinces gives a statement of the heroism of an European officer whose name he cannot tell, in an attack by mutineer troops, to which he was an eye-witness. The above officer and his wife were attacked by many *sowars*.* The brave officers singly shot dead seven of them on the spot, but at last was overcome by a number of the rebels. The officer, instead of being disgraced by the scoundrels, first killed his wife and then put an end to his own life."—*Bengal Harkaru*, June 29, 1857, p. 611.

If *The Indian Rebellion's* correspondent wrote from Benares, and was not the same person who wrote to the *Hurkaru*, there is no reason to doubt that the story was related at that place. The account from the *Hurkaru* is introduced because in it the witness and the hero are more particularly denoted. The witness was " a man," and the officer " an European." Neither of the accounts furnishes any clue to the name of the witness or his character, to the name of the officer, to the branch of the service to which he belonged, or to the locality in which the attack was made. The account is, therefore, useless for the purposes of history; and it is, moreover, threadbare in romance. The Hindoos can furnish legends of a similar character; and the re-occupation of Delhi has given rise to a similar story of several Hindoos in that city having slaughtered their wives and then themselves.

Apart from these considerations, the story itself limps. We are informed that the officer " at last was overcome by a number of the rebels," after he had " singly shot dead seven

* " Troopers."

of them on the spot." When a combatant is overcome in a personal encounter in the open, such as this may be supposed to have been, it is understood that he is disabled for further action. In shooting seven men, he may be supposed to have emptied one revolver, and then betaken himself to another, or to some other fire-arm, by which he delivered the seventh, if not the sixth, shot. The only way in which he could have been overcome at this stage was his being rendered by some means or other unable to repeat his shots. If this supposition be correct, it is difficult to see how, in his helpless condition, he could have "first killed his wife and then put an end to his own life." If he could do so, he was not overcome: but the story says he "was overcome"; therefore, the story limps.

XX. "What the horrors prepared for us were—and from which we escaped by so merciful an interposition of Providence—soon appeared, among other revelations, from this—that when, after the disarming, the sepoys' huts were searched, they were found to be filled with instruments of the most murderous description—huge knives of various shapes, two handed swords, poinards, and battle-axes—many of the swords being serrated, and evidently intended for the perpetration of *torturing* cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the Government, had doubtless fondly gloated!"—*The Indian Rebellion*, p. 37; *Letter V.*, embracing the period between the 24th of June and the 3rd of July 1857.

"When the sepoys' huts at Barrackpore were searched after the disarming on Sunday last, the arms discovered were of the most murderous description. Two handed swords, poinards, and battle-axes, with knives of various descriptions. Many of the swords were serrated, and doubtless would have been used as instruments of torture if the sepoys could have carried out their plans. These very men, who probably in anticipation gloated over the cruelties they were about to perpetrate, have deserted in great numbers."—*Friend of India*, Thursday, June 25, 1857, p. 606.

Comparing these extracts and their dates suggests the probability of one of the passages having originated in the other. The *Friend*, if he took his cue from the other, has let drop

a great deal of the fervour, and some of the substance as well; while *The Indian Rebellion*, if he was indebted to the *Friend*, has beaten the original hollow. Note well the differences. While the *Friend* gives no idea of the number or quantity of the arms discovered, *The Indian Rebellion* declares the huts to have been "filled with instruments"; while the former could discern only "knives," the latter found "huge knives"; while the first considers it very probable that the serrated swords "would have been used as instruments of torture," the second is positive that they were "evidently intended for the perpetration of *torturing* cruelties"; while the one regards it as merely probable that the "men" may have "gloated over the cruelties," the other has no doubt whatever that "these ruthless savages" had "fondly gloated" over those anticipated cruelties. The *Friend* looks a mere pigmy, *The Indian Rebellion* a giant. It is believed, however, that the sequel will show the first to have been in error, and the last wholly wrong, regarding the purpose for which the instruments were kept by the sepoys.

"The sepoys' huts were searched." By searching a hut is understood going into it and prying into every hole and corner; and, if necessary, as it sometimes happens to be in India, turning up the floor in different places. But in the present case nothing of the kind seems to have been meant. To search, in the passage quoted from *The Indian Rebellion*, may have meant nothing more than to stand at the door, entrance being impossible, on account of the huts having been found "filled with instruments." But it is possible that the term "filled" is not employed in the sense of "packed to that degree that the receptacle can hold no more"; the word may have been used more loosely, as when a notable housewife should say, in disparagement of her neighbour's dwelling—"The house is filled with vermin." However, the reader should bear in mind that *The Indian Rebellion* was in Calcutta, while the "huts filled with instruments" were at least twelve miles off, at Barrackpore; so that he could not be quite sure that the huts were "filled" even in the looser sense.

Next comes the character of the instruments: they were "of the most murderous description." The term "murderous" might imply that the instruments to which it was applied had been used in committing murder, that they were fitted for the purpose of committing murder, or that they were intended for that purpose. The last appears to have been the sense in which the word was used by *The Indian Rebellion.* The propriety of the term in the second acceptation—the fitness of the instruments for the purposes of murder—will be disputed by no one. The first meaning—that the weapons, or rather some of them, had been employed in committing murder—would be also correct, were it not for the time-honoured doctrine that "killing is no murder"; that is, to be more explicit, the Christian and the Mussulman agree that the killing of goats, sheep, and cows, is no murder. Well, as to the "huge knives of various shapes," the Mussulman, being quite as carnivorously disposed—when he can get flesh to eat—as the Christian is, and having got over the barbarous practice of tearing raw animal flesh with the teeth and fingers alone, requires a knife to assist him in preparing his flesh for cooking and convenient mastication. Many a goat, or sheep, or cow, had in all probability succumbed before or under those huge knives, when the Mussulman sepoy messes or the families of the men could afford to indulge in a flesh dinner, supper, or breakfast. The large knives formed, in all probability, the kit of cutlery of the Mussulman sepoys, who, from their restricted means, were unable to patronise "Rogers." That the primary object for which those knives were kept was that which is here suggested, is sufficiently probable to warrant a belief in it, in the entire absence of any proof to the contrary. The intelligent reader will easily find other domestic uses to which the huge knives might have been applied.

But what of the "two-handed swords"? They cannot, of course, have been used for the same purpose as the huge knives. They have, however, had their uses in sepoy regiments for many years past, as can be testified by any one who may possess even a moderate acquaintance with the private habits

of the native soldiery—such an acquaintance as might have been acquired by passing their lines at the time when the men were engaged in their holiday sports. In most of the sepoy regiments, prior to the outbreak of 1857, in the Bombay Presidency, there was one or more of these two-handed swords. A tall lank up-country sepoy has been seen endeavouring to balance one of these huge unwieldy weapons held out horizontally at arm's length, the holder's body preserving a backward inclination to prevent his being laid prone by the weight of the weapon. A stouter fellow might have been observed swinging it with all his might horizontally about his head, imagining, perhaps, that he was making an immense opening in a dense column of the enemy, who, of course, suffered his masses to stand still and be mowed down like new hay. On holidays, the men might be seen aiming a stroke of the ungainly sword at a sour lime, trying who could make the best cut at the pendent fruit. Such are a few of the uses, known to some men of but limited experience in sepoy amusements, to which this awkward weapon was applied; and, until the contrary can be proved, it is only right to believe that the weapons of this description that were taken from the huts at Barrackpore were kept solely for the amusement and exercise of the sepoys.

"Poinards," swords, and other handy weapons were carried by sepoys when on furlough, the muskets and bayonets being left behind with the regiments.

"Battle-axes" may have been used for amusement during the recitation of portions of the heroic poems, such as the Ramayun, or may have been employed for the ignoble purpose of chopping firewood for culinary purposes, as well as in many other ways that will suggest themselves to the reflective and experienced reader.

Any one who has met a sepoy, just after his arrival at a new station, carrying a load of bamboos on his shoulder, for the purpose of partitioning off a portion of his barracks for the accommodation of his family, or with the object of rearing a hut, will at once find a use for the serrated sword or large knife. It was by no means an uncommon occurrence for a comparatively

poor native who could not afford to purchase a saw, or who might have been in a locality where, though he had the means of purchasing, saws were not procurable, to get either a large knife or a broad-bladed sword converted into a saw, by paying a trifle to have the weapon's edge serrated.

With the last stated facts before him, the reader will be able to decide how far *The Indian Rebellion* was justified in declaring, without a single particle of evidence to support his assertion, that the serrated swords were "evidently intended for the perpetration of *torturing* cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the Government, had doubtless fondly gloated!"

In saying what has been said above, there has not existed the most remote intention of calling in question the propriety of removing all the weapons named out of the reach of a regiment or of regiments which the authorities were compelled to regard as either dangerous or disaffected.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY LIBRARY

CHAPTER III.

FICTIONS OF THE MUTINEERS AND REBELS.

THE King of Delhi's Circular Letter to the Princes and People of India:—

"With the approving sanction of God, the Lord of the Nation! —*(Exposition of a letter written regarding the victory of the Faith.)*

"All you Rajahs are famed for your virtues, noble qualities, and liberality, and are, moreover, the protectors of your own faith and of the faith of others. Keeping your welfare in view, I humbly submit that God has given you your bodily existence to establish his different religions, and requires you severally to learn the tenets of your own different religious institutions, and you accordingly continue firm in them. God has, moreover, sent you into the world in your elevated position, and given you dominion and government, that you may destroy those who harm your religion. It is incumbent, therefore, on such of you as have the power, to kill those who may injure your religion, and on such as have not, to engage heartily in devising means for the same end, and thus protect your faith: for it is written in your scriptures that martyrdom is preferable to adopting the religion of another. This is exactly what God has said, and what is evident to everybody. The English are people who overthrow all religions. You should understand well the object of destroying the religions of Hindustan; they have, for a long time, been causing books to be written and circulated throughout the country by the hands of their priests, and exercising their authority, have brought out numbers of preachers to spread their own tenets. This has been learnt from one of their own trusted agents. Consider then what systematic contrivances they have adopted to destroy our religions. For instance, *First*, when a woman becomes a widow they order her to make a second marriage. *Secondly*, the self-immolation of wives on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands was an ancient religious custom; the English had it discontinued, and enacted their own regulations prohibiting it. *Thirdly*, they told people it was their wish that they (the people) should adopt their faith, promising that if they did so they would be respected by Government, and further required them to attend churches and hear the tenets preached there. Moreover, they decided and told the Rajahs that

such only as were born of their wives would inherit the government and property, and that adopted heirs would not be allowed to succeed; although according to your scriptures, ten different sorts of heirs are allowed shares in the inheritance. By this contrivance they will rob you of your governments and possessions as they have already done with Nagpur and Lucknow. Consider now another of their designing plans. They resolved on compelling prisoners with the forcible exercise of their authority to eat their bread. Numbers died of starvation, but did not eat it; others ate it and sacrificed their faith. They now perceived that this expedient did not succeed well, and accordingly determined on having bones ground and mixed with flour and sugar, so that people might unsuspectingly eat them in this way. They had, moreover, bones and flesh broken small and mixed with rice, which they caused to be placed in the markets for sale; and tried besides every other possible plan to destroy our religions. At last some Bengali after due reflection said, that if the troops would accede to the wishes of the English in this matter, all the Bengalis would also conform to them. The English, hearing this, approved of it, and said, 'certainly this is an excellent idea,' never imagining they would be themselves exterminated. They accordingly now ordered the Brahmans and others of their army to bite cartridges, in making up of which fat had been used. The Mussulman soldiers perceived that by this expedient the religion of the Brahmans and Hindus only were in danger, but nevertheless they also refused to bite them. On this, the English now resolved on ruining the faith of both, and blew away from guns all those soldiers who persisted in their refusal. Seeing this excessive tyranny, the soldiery now in self-preservation began killing the English, and slew them wherever they were found, and are now considering means for slaying the few still alive here and there. It is now my firm conviction, that if these English continue in Hindustan, they will kill every one in the country, and will utterly overthrow our religions. But there are some of my countrymen who have joined the English, and are now fighting on their side. I have reflected well on their case also, and have come to the conclusion that the English will not leave your religion to both you and them. You should understand this well. Under these circumstances, I would ask what course have you decided on, to protect your lives and faith? Were your wives and mine the same, we might destroy them entirely with a very little trouble, and if we do so, we shall protect our religions and save the country. And as these ideas have been cherished and considered merely from a concern for the protection of the religions and lives of all you Hindus and Mussulmen of this country, this letter is printed for your information. All you Hindus are hereby solemnly adjured by your faith in the Ganges, Tulsi, and Saligram, and all you Mussulmen, by your belief in God and the Koran, as these English are the common enemy of both, to unite in considering their slaughter extremely expedient, for

by this alone will the lives and faith of both be saved. It is expedient then that you should coalesce and slay them. The slaughter of kine is regarded by the Hindus as a great insult to their religion. To prevent this, a solemn compact and agreement has been entered into by all the Mahomedan chiefs of Hindustan, binding themselves that if the Hindus will come forward to slay the English, the Mahomedans will from that very day put a stop to the slaughter of cows, and those of them who will not do so, will be considered to have abjured the Koran, and such of them as will eat beef will be regarded as though they had eaten pork; but if the Hindus will not gird their loins to kill the English, but will try to save them, they will be as guilty in the sight of God as though they had committed the sins of killing cows and eating flesh. Perhaps the English may, for their own ends, try to assure the Hindus that as the Mussulmen have consented to give up killing cows from respect for the Hindu religion, they will solemnly engage to do the same, and will ask the Hindus to join them against the Mussulmen; but no sensible man will be gulled by such deceit, for the solemn promises and professions of the English are always deceitful and interested. Once their ends are gained, they will infringe their engagements, for deception has ever been habitual with them, and the treachery they have always practised on the people of Hindustan is known to rich and poor. Do not therefore give heed to what they may say. Be well assured, you will never have such an opportunity again. We all know that writing a letter is equivalent to an advance half way towards fellowship. I trust you will all write answers approving of what has been proposed herein.—This letter has been printed under the direction of Moulavy Syad Kuth Shah Sahib, at the Bahaduri Press, in the city of Bareilly."—*Annals of the Indian Revolt*, Part II.—See also "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 110, 111.

The general import of this document is understood to be that it is the intention of the British government and people to force Christianity upon the natives of India, by all means, fair or unfair; and that it is, therefore, incumbent on the people to rise against the British and exterminate them. Were the alleged intention true, the proposed remedy would be justifiable; but as the allegation is false, there is no remedy called for. That the British government, the British Indian government, or the whole British population, have an intention of using any means whatever, good or bad, towards the conversion of the people of India to the Christian religion, is as pure a fiction as any that is exposed in this book. If any proof

of this is deemed necessary, it will be readily found, as regards the British Indian government, in the reiterated complaints of missionaries and their supporters against the government, which is sometimes charged with not supporting Christianity, and sometimes (though unjustly) with obstructing its progress, and discouraging its native proselytes. Then, as regards the people of England, the great majority of them know and care as little about the people of India and their creeds, as the ryots of India know and care about the people of England and their religions. So much for the general purport of the circular.

Several of the particulars are as fictitious as the general scope of the whole document. It is affirmed that "the English are people who overthrow all religions. * * * They have, for a long time, been causing books to be written and circulated throughout the country by the hands of their priests, and exercising their authority, have brought out numbers of preachers to spread their own tenets." Here there is, first of all, the inconsistency of a "people who overthrow all religions" having "their priests," their "preachers," and "their own tenets"; all of which, it is presumed, imply the lively existence of religions, or at least of a religion. How a people, who, having a religion, can employ the agents of that religion in the destruction of all religions, is a problem more difficult of solution than any in the usually studied books of Euclid. Did the writer of the circular mean that all the missionaries, after trying their hands at the destruction of the Indian creeds, then took the suicidal step of destroying their own? Or did he simply mean that the missionaries *then* cut their own throats? Whatever the meaning of the writer may have been, the impression left upon the mind of every intelligent man who reads the affirmation must be, that it cuts the ground from under itself.

In the second place, "they," that is the English people (for there is no other antecedent), have not been "causing books to be written and circulated," as stated. The great majority of the English people do not know of the existence of Hindoos and Mussulmans; much less is it known that they can read books. Those who cause the books referred to "to be written and

circulated" form but a very small minority of the entire population of England ; and this fact will be apparent to any one who will be at the trouble of collecting the reports of the different Missionary Societies of the Tract Society, and of the Bible Societies, counting the number of subscribers, and deducting it from the number of people shown in the census tables for any given year. Inferences of any kind, drawn from such limited data as these lists afford, must, when applied to the entire British people, be found as erroneous as the affirmation which has now been exposed.

"This," continues the writer of the circular letter, "has been learnt from one of their own trusted agents." It turns out, then, that the nonsense above noticed is confessedly not the result of the writer's own observation. The agent who could have furnished such trash, evidently deserves to be trusted no longer, either by the British people or by the writer of the letter; an agent so unscrupulous will not fail again to mislead those by whom he is trusted.

But the writer of the circular letter, determined that the "trusted agent" shall not enjoy a monopoly of nonsense, gives the following specimen of his own :—"when a woman becomes a widow they order her to make a second marriage." Such an order never emanated from either the British people, the British home government, or the British Indian government. Although there is in the laws of England no prohibition to the marriage of widows, and although such marriages are known to have in many cases been productive of beneficial results, still there is, in the mind of the general British population, an ill-concealed feeling of contempt for the widow who, having been well provided for by her late husband, links herself to another. Unmistakeable indications of this feeling will be found in the dramas, songs, and general light literature of England. How a people who possess so unmistakeable a feeling against widow marriages (whether the feeling is right or wrong has no bearing on the present question) should promulgate a law rendering it imperative on a widow to marry, is a problem whose solution must be left to the writer of the circular letter.

He only can solve it, as he alone possesses the secret of that law's existence.

"They" (the English), continues the writer, "told people it was their wish that they (the people) should adopt their faith, promising that if they did so they would be respected by Government, and further required them to attend churches and hear the tenets preached there." The writer does not seem to be aware that more than a third, perhaps nearly a half, of the English, do not attend "churches." It is necessary here to mention what is stated above, that the great majority of the English people neither know nor care anything about what faith the natives of India adopt. If any missionaries or other individuals made the alleged promise, it was a false promise,—that is to say, an unauthorised promise. Her Majesty's British Indian government is pledged to strict neutrality in matters of religion. The native who may be foolishly led to believe, that by changing his faith he will obtain the special favour of government, will, if he adopt the change from such motives, meet with the woful disappointment which is the proper reward of his faithlessness. Indeed, whatever may be the motive of the change, government is bound to show the convert no special favour on that account.

The writer's impudence waxes as his letter grows longer. Hitherto he has contented himself with comparatively small fictions; but now, the furor having approached its climax, he ventures to charge the English people with using compulsory attempts to destroy the faith of the natives. "They" (the English), he says, "resolved on compelling prisoners with the forcible exercise of their authority to eat their bread. Numbers died of starvation, but did not eat it; others ate it and sacrificed their faith." If there is one thing more abhorrent than another to the feelings of an Englishman, it is that of taking improper advantage of a fellow-creature in distress; the Englishman who should so use his power would be deservedly condemned by his countrymen as a poltroon and a scoundrel. The greatest care is taken in the jails of India to supply the prisoners with such food as is sanctioned by their

respective religions, and to guard against that food being conveyed through anything that might be regarded by the recipient as a polluting medium. The natives will be in the best position for ascertaining and declaring, whether such of their caste-fellows as have been incarcerated in the public jails, and been released on the expiry of the term of imprisonment, have come out with the loss of their faith. Let those natives who know these jail-birds speak their honest convictions; and these will constitute a sufficient refutation of the present fiction.

Here is the climax: "They," the British, "now perceived that this expedient did not succeed well, and accordingly determined on having bones ground and mixed with flour and sugar, so that people might unsuspectingly eat them in this way. They had, moreover, bones and flesh broken small and mixed with rice, which they caused to be placed in the markets for sale; and tried besides every other possible plan to destroy our religions." The writer, from some cause or other, seems to have abandoned the charge against the British of attempting to convert the natives, and to have substituted in its stead the charge of simply seeking the destruction of the Indian religions. The one is as baseless as the other, as far as the British people are concerned. But the charge of attempting to convert, had this advantage over that of attempting to destroy, in that for the former some possible motive could be assigned, whereas for the latter there is not hinted at even the ghost of an advantage to be reaped by the destroyers; here, the mountain in labour does not bring forth even a mouse. Notwithstanding the excitement caused in England by the recent attempt to exterminate the British in India, it is probable that now, at the least, nineteen out of every twenty of the people of Britain never habitually bestow even a thought on Hindoostan; and it is also probable that ninety-nine out of every hundred retire at night without vouchsafing a single reflection to the religions of India. In fact, time to Englishmen in general is too precious to be so wasted. The writer of the circular letter seems to be so blinded by ignorance and self-conceit as to imagine that the British people are constantly throwing away their time in

thinking about him and his religion; nay, that they have no better occupation than that of grinding bones to destroy his faith with. Further, it seems to be implied that British ships can find no better employment than that of carrying from China and India to England sugar and rice, solely that they may be mixed with bone-dust and bits of flesh, and then sent back for native use. It probably never occurred to him, that if the news of the destruction of his faith were to reach England tomorrow, so little would the English people be moved, that scarcely more than one in a thousand would *feel* either joy or sorrow at the intelligence.

After imagining the British people exterminated, the writer goes on to say,—"They accordingly now ordered the Brahmans and others of their army to bite cartridges, in making up of which fat had been used. The Mussulman soldiers perceived that by this expedient the religion of the Brahmans and Hindus only were in danger, but nevertheless they also refused to bite them." It turns out, then, that all the objections made, on the score of religion, by the Mahomedan soldiers at Meerut and elsewhere, against the greased cartridges, were groundless and hypocritical. The magnanimous disinterestedness of the Mussulman, who, out of sheer regard for "the religion of the Brahmans and Hindus," violated his oath of allegiance to the British, deserves to be appreciated at its full value, both by the Englishman and the Hindoo.

Not only are the writer and his people prepared to perjure themselves and become hypocrites for the sake of Hindoo religions, but they are willing to go a step further, and respect the sacred character of the cow: "A solemn compact and agreement has been entered into by all the Mahomedan chiefs of Hindustan, binding themselves that if the Hindus will come forward to slay the English, the Mahomedans will from that very day put a stop to the slaughter of cows, and those of them who will not do so will be considered to have abjured the Koran, and such of them as will eat beef will be regarded as though they had eaten pork." The writer seems to have been apprehensive that, after what he had above

admitted about perjury and hypocrisy, his promises and agreements were not likely to be much respected; so he seems disposed to abandon persuasions, and try what threats will effect;—" But if the Hindus will not gird their loins to kill the English, but will try to save them, they will be as guilty in the sight of God as though they had committed the sins of killing cows and eating flesh." Apparently conscious of the hollowness of his professions about abstaining from beef, the writer assumes the likelihood of the English speculating in the same line, and he accordingly warns his readers against being gulled by "the shop opposite"; telling them, after his transparently deceitful and interested promises and threats, that "the solemn promises and professions of the English are always deceitful and interested."

XXII. "*Translation of a Proclamation issued by* MIRZA MAHOMED FEROZ SHAH, Shahzadah; *lithographed at Bareilly, by order of the Nawab of Kather, 3rd Rujjub* 1274.

"To all Hindoos and Mahomedans of Hindostan, who are faithful to their religion! Know that sovereignty is one of God's chief boons, one which a deceitful tyrant is never allowed to retain for several years. The English have been committing all kinds of excess and tyrannies, being desirous of converting all men to Christianity by force, and of subverting and doing away with the religion of Hindoos and Mussulmans. When God saw this fact, he so altered the hearts of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that they have been doing their best to get rid of the English themselves; now the Feringees have been destroyed, but still they overrun the whole country to its destruction, and persevere in their vain endeavours. Soon they will have been, by the grace of God, so utterly exterminated, that no traces of them will remain. Know that all Hindoos and Mussulmans have become so hateful to them, that they will not suffer any to live with honor. I now detail to you some of the plans decided in the Council in accordance with the opinions of the Judicial Supreme Court of Parliament.

"Oh! Hindoostanees, brethren, thus put off your guard against their subversive determinations; leave them to their folly, and, all uniting, break their heads! When the army mutinied to preserve their faith, and in various places sent the kafirs to hell, then the padrees and and wise men among them, alarmed at the mutiny, the anarchy and slaughter of the Europeans, concocted the following scheme, observing

that if, on obtaining the supreme power, attention had been paid to the laws and rules then established, this would never have happened.

" ' 1st.—The families of Indian chiefs and kings were preserved. This should not have been: they ought now, all that remain, to be enticed on board ship, under pretence of their being conveyed to England, and drowned.

" 2nd.—All religious books, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, ought to be collected by fraud or force, and burned.

" 3rd.—Not a beswa of land ought to be left in the possession of any native.

" 4th.—The native officers ought to be bribed and intimidated into intermarriages with Europeans, that they may in a short time become the same as they.

" 5th.—The natives ought not to be trained as artillerists.

" 6th.—All natives ought to be disarmed.

" 7th.—No servant ought to be engaged until he has eaten and drunk with Europeans.

" 8th.—Mosques and temples ought not to be allowed to be founded.

" 9th.—Mahomedan and Hindoo worship ought to be proscribed.

" 10th.—To adjudicate by Bible law.

" 11th.—Marriages ought not to be celebrated according to the Hindoo and Mahomedan rituals. This to be the special care of the padrees.

" 12th.—To abolish Hindoo and Mussulman doctors.

" 13th.—Not to allow Hindoo or Mussulman devotees to educate disciples without the permission of the padrees.

" 14th.—None but doctors ought to be permitted to assist at the confinement of Hindoo and Mussulman women.

" These rules have not been adhered to by the worthless natives of Hindoostan: they have been treated with care and tenderness, and the end of it has been that these very natives have got up this rebellion. If great attention is paid to the above principles for the future, and if all misconduct among the Hindoostanees is punished, then the English rule will remain established for thousands of years.'

" Oh! Hindoostanee brethren, you have heard what measures these Christians have resolved to carry out: you must now wash your hands, and become their enemies; exert yourselves in exterminating them for the sake of your religion and of your lives. Through God's grace we shall be victorious. I now am going to tell you a few things: you listen attentively, and execute what I suggest, with determination.

" Before the commencement of these calamities of the English, I went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On my return, when I arrived

and saw the condition of the English, I thanked God, as I am by nature a seeker after religious excellence, just, equitable, and the obstructor of tyranny to rebellion. As I came along, I travelled from Bombay to Gwalior, and made all chiefs and armies promise to exterminate the Nazranees. I took a small army with me from Gwalior, intending first to arrange and consolidate affairs, and then to fight; however, the soldiers were so excited by religious zeal, that, disregarding their officers, they hastened on impetuously, and made an attack on Agra, notwithstanding their own small numbers and the host of enemies they had to contend with [with] becoming valour and courage, and although apparently defeated, yet in reality they gained a signal success, having slain nearly 1,000 kafirs. After the battle, my property and comrades were scattered hither and thither. From that time until now, I have been busy in my endeavours to collect an army, and have been for four months inciting kings and armies to rise and slaughter the infidels. Through the aid of God, from various quarters 1,50,000 men, old and new soldiers, have been induced to swear to join me, and I will soon, collecting all of these, purify the land from these Nazranees. All sorts of material and treasure have been collected; there is only a little delay in the commencement of the movement. Let it be known that the only inducement to enter into these plots is the call of our ancient religion; therefore, this proclamation is distributed alike among Mahomedans and Hindoos, and let all those to whom God has granted determination, stake their lives and property, and, joining us who rise for our faith, obtain happiness in this world and in that to come. Therefore, God orders all who may receive this Istehar to aid us, the old and infirm by their prayers, the rich by their contributions, the hale and vigorous by devoting their lives. When you determine on joining the ranks of the Jehadees, you must consider the following points:—

"The Chiefs subject to the King of Oude and Nawab of Bareilly must not join me without first obtaining the permission of their sovereigns, because they are doing all they can to destroy and bury the kafirs, and if they are abandoned the Nazranees will be strengthened.

"2nd.—Let zeal for religion alone be the motive which prompts those who determine to join me, not any wordly aspiration, that they may obtain everlasting rewards, besides attaining to great dignity and rank in a worldly sense, when our power is consolidated.

"3rd.—The reason of the delay there has been in burying the English is, that the commands of God have been disregarded, inasmuch as the soldiers have wickedly put women and children to death, and have, without the orders of their leaders, given themselves up to loot in such a way, that they generally convert victory into defeat, and the common people have been much oppressed. When you rectify these faults you will succeed, as I have promised you.

"4th.—Great and small will all be on an equality in this army, because all brethren are equal when they are fighting for their religion. On such an occasion it is not permitted that worldly means alone should be made use of.

"Placing my trust in God, devoting myself solely to God's service, observing the precepts of religion, strengthening my determination, clothing myself in my shroud, taking in my hand the sword of religious zeal, arise in the name of God! We shall obtain victory through the grace of God, who promises victory to those who put their trust in Him; once, therefore, again I urge you, and urge you one and all to join me, prompted solely by the desire of doing God's work.

"On the day and date I will march from the city let all who wish come then. My advice is this: abandon every other work, give your life to your beloved, or death will take it. Decide which of these alternatives is preferable."—*Calcutta Englishman*, Aug. 7, 1858.

Here again the English are charged with attempts at forcible conversion of the people of India to Christianity in the first place, and with "subverting and doing away with the religion of Hindoos and Mussulmans" in the second. The most irreverent part is that in which this fiction is called a fact, and God is represented as having seen it: as if God could have seen the thing which was not! This self-conceited notion, that the people of England are very desirous of converting the natives, and, therefore, are using force to accomplish the object, has been so fully exposed elsewhere, that it is not necessary to dwell on it here, further than to observe, that there are already too many bad Christians; that it would not be advisable to increase their number from among bad Hindoos and bad Mussulmans; and that, very often, those who make a great noise and fuss about religion, as the writers of these proclamations do, are great rogues in disguise.

The present document is amusing where it says "the Feringees have been destroyed, but still they overrun the whole country." Like the heroes of the penny theatre, the Feringees fell dead on the stage; but, when the curtain dropped, they all arose and prepared themselves to repeat the dying process before a fresh audience. But the repetitions are to be limited: according to the writer of the proclamation, the grace of God

will soon come into operation, and so utterly exterminate the Feringees that they will not exist even in remembrance. Alas! poor Feringees!

The proclamation so teems with barefaced falsehoods, that space cannot be here afforded to notice the whole. The alleged decisions of the British parliament occupy a prominent place in the document. The first of these is that the families of Indian chiefs and kings ought "to be enticed on board ship under pretence of their being conveyed to England, and drowned." The family of the ex-king of Oude reached England without being drowned; and so did Jung Bahadoor of Nepaul. The writer seems to have overlooked the fact that all Indian chiefs are not Mussulmans, or else he would not have spoken so unguardedly about enticing their families on board of ship "under pretence of their being conveyed to England." Although he might view the visit to England as a coveted privilege, and run the chance of being tempted to venture on the voyage provided it was at the sole expense of the British government, yet there are Brahman and other Hindoo families of Indian chiefs whom no consideration could tempt to go on board of ship, with the view of going to England. It is not necessary to go to the trouble of denying that the British parliament would frame such a rule. No one could even have imagined it, except somebody very intimate with those murderous traitors about Cawnpore, who, by false promises and protestations, enticed a small famishing garrison of men, women, and children, on board of boats at Cawnpore, "under pretence of their being conveyed" to Allahabad, and then, by means of round-shot, shell, grape, musketry, bayonets, swords, and burning arrows, endeavoured to burn and sink the boats and massacre the fugitives.

The second rule falsely ascribed to the British parliament is—"All religious books, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, ought to be collected by fraud or force, and burned." The writer seems to be very familiar with "fraud and force." Had he asserted of the Mahomedan what is here affirmed of the English, history would have lent some colour of truth to his statement. Had he not been as ignorant as he is mendacious, he must have

known that some Englishmen spend their money, time, and strength, in collecting Hindoo and Mussulman religious books, and translating them into English; and that these translations, as well as the originals, are cherished in our public and private libraries. From no native bookseller's shop do the English collect such books without payment; and then, although the book is the property of him who pays for it, and he is at perfect liberty to do what he will with his own, the Englishman is not so foolish as to destroy that which will bring a price in the market, though it may be only the price of waste paper. When circumstances compel the Englishman to part with his books, he either sells them or makes a present of them to his friends. This rule has, of course, met with many exceptions during the recent disturbances; and the writer of the proclamation will doubtless be able to inform his friends as to who plundered the libraries of the public and religious institutions at Delhi, Bareilly, Secundra, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, and other stations, and what became of the books found therein; and how the books found in the numerous private libraries of Englishmen were disposed of.

The third rule is—"Not a beswa of land ought to be left in the possession of any native." It will be only necessary to assert that the parliament of England never made such a law; and to point, in support of this assertion, to the various grants of land that have at different times been made to natives, especially since India has come directly under the British parliament. A recent case may be alluded to, in which a local Indian government recommended the resumption of an inam, or rent-free grant, which the native holder, a Hindoo, had enjoyed for thirty years without a strictly legal title. On the question being referred to England, it was decided in favour of the native, and, as a matter of course, against the local government.

The fourth rule is decidedly the richest of the lot: "The native officers ought to be bribed and intimidated into intermarriages with Europeans, that they may in a short time become the same as they." Any serious comment on this would only spoil the joke.

After the use that many of the native artillery have recently made of the guns entrusted to their care, the fifth rule—"Natives ought not to be trained as artillerists"—is unexceptionable.

The sixth rule—"All natives ought to be disarmed," would, if "all" were struck out, be justified by recent occurrences.

Next in power of unction to the fourth rule is the seventh: "No servant ought to be engaged until he has eaten and drunk with Europeans." This rule would operate seriously against the pocket of the master, as he would to all intents and purposes be compelled to feed his servant with the most expensive kinds of food. And the introduction to this want of economy would be a polite invitation to breakfast or dinner from the master to the would-be servant! This rule could not possibly find favour with the English parliament, antagonistic as that body is to all levelling ideas, and prone to aristocratic notions. These notions, too, descend to the lowest English classes that are able to keep a servant, and attach also to him who has risen from servant to master. "A place for everybody, and everybody in his place," is a sentiment apparently inseparable from the present feelings of English society. European masters and native servants are alike better pleased with present arrangements than with those which the writer of the proclamation attempts to father on the English parliament.

Rule the eighth—"Mosques and temples ought not to be allowed to be founded." The best evidence that there is no such prohibition is contained in the fact that temples, mosques, and synagogues go up without hinderance; and sometimes, too, in close proximity to churches and chapels.

Ninth rule—"Mahomedan and Hindoo worship ought to be proscribed." The feelings of the English are strongly against interfering with the religious worship of other people. Blessed with religious liberty themselves, they think it right to concede the same to all others under British protection. Punishment would follow any gross interference by an Englishman with the religion of any people under British rule. Rule the ninth, therefore, could never have emanated from the British parliament as it is at present constituted.

Rule number ten—"To adjudicate by Bible law." They do not adjudicate by this law in England. There is a great variety of opinion in the British parliament as to what Bible law really is; so, under these circumstances, it is very unlikely that that body should have framed rule the tenth. If the consequences of adjudicating by Bible law should in any way resemble those resulting from adjudicating by Koran law, the Hindoos will fare the better in the absence of both. Hindoos and Mussulmans may rest assured that the parliament of England will not trouble them with "Bible law."

The eleventh rule provides that "Marriages ought not to be celebrated according to the Hindoo and Mahomedan rituals. This to be the special care of the padrees" (priests, clergymen, or missionaries). The gross ignorance (to say nothing worse) of the writer of the proclamation, is evident from this passage also. He ought to have known that marriages amongst the English are not the special care of the padrees; but that the care is also shared in by laymen. The legally appointed registrars may be either clergymen or laymen; and the rite may be performed either with or without religious forms, the absence of these not interfering with its legality. Hence will be inferred the desire of the British government to accommodate all shades of opinion, and to make happy in their consciences the people under its sway, whatever may be their religious belief. To imagine that a people and a parliament so disposed and so operating could frame rule the eleventh, implies the existence of a lamentable amount of ignorance.

"To abolish Hindoo and Mussulman doctors" is the burden of the twelfth rule. It is to be feared that Mussulman doctors abolish themselves. The schools and colleges are as free to them as to the Hindoos, Parsees, and Christians, several of whom have been already turned out fully qualified for the medical profession, and several more of whom are still prosecuting their studies with the same object. The people of India are surely not so far bereft of their wits as to doubt the evidence of their own eyesight, when they see practising amongst them

doctors of their own faith who have been trained in British colleges. To say, then, that the parliament of England ordained rule the twelfth, is nothing better than to offer an insult to the people's understanding.

The thirteenth parliamentary rule is said to be "Not to allow Hindoo or Mussulman devotees to educate disciples without the permission of the padrees." The English parliament has no connection with the padrees; and these have no right or authority to meddle with the teachings of Hindoo or Mussulman devotees. The padrees never so far forgot themselves as to assume the power of granting or withholding the said permission to the said devotees. The rule is an unmitigated fiction.

So is rule the fourteenth: "None but doctors ought to be permitted to assist at the confinement of Hindoo and Mussulman women." The rule does not obtain even amongst the English, either in England or in India. In this country, it is well known that English, Hindoo, Mussulman, and native Christian midwives are as extensively employed now as they have been for several years past; and it is also known that the results of employing them have been disastrous on some occasions. Complaints have been uttered against the English legislature for not interfering to prevent the mischief arising out of employing ignorant and untrained females; but, to this day, the British parliament have not, somehow or other, considered themselves called upon to legislate on midwifery, even at home, much less in this country. The natives need give themselves no alarm whatever on the score of European medical practitioners interfering with native lying-in women. To exclude those gentlemen is the simplest thing in the world: do not call them, and they are certain not to come of their own accord; or, call them, telling them that you do not intend to pay them for their trouble, and the chances are a hundred to one that they will not darken your door.

The wonderful rules having been disposed of, the English parliament is represented as attributing to the neglect of enforcing them, the ingratitude of the natives for the care and tenderness shown to them; and as enjoining a rigid adherence

to the imaginary rules in future: all of which is, of course, as foreign to truth as are the fictions themselves. After a little more stuff about religion and God's grace, the writer proceeds to communicate a little of his own personal history, which was doubtless very interesting to those for whose perusal itwas written, and which, on account of the mendacity displayed in some of its parts, claims some attention from the general reader.

The first fib is probably contained in the following words, which also show the writer as almost cracking his cheeks by blowing his own trumpet:—"I am by nature a seeker after religious excellence, just, equitable, and the obstructor of tyranny to rebellion." Evidently he forgot his humility, without which the picture he draws of himself is sadly wanting in completeness. His justice and equity are clearly exhibited in the fourteen rules already considered.

The next prominent fib occurs where, in speaking of the battle that occurred near the village of Sassia, in the vicinity of Agra, on the 5th of July 1857, he says of his troops that, "although apparently defeated, yet in reality they gained a signal success, having slain nearly 1,000 kafirs" (infidels,—meaning Christians or Europeans). According to the most trustworthy information procurable regarding the Europeans engaged in that fight, their numbers were seven companies of the 3rd Bengal European infantry (about 550 men), a battery of foot artillery, about 100 men, and about 50 of the mounted militia, giving a total of about 700 men. How nearly 1,000 could have been slain out of 700 is a problem that requires all the justice and equity of the writer, plus his religion, to explain. The total number of casualties was 49 killed and mortally wounded, and 92 wounded, making a total of 141.* There is a great difference between this number and "nearly 1,000." If the latter number had been slain, it must have involved the total annihilation of the 3rd Europeans,—both those who went out to battle, and the 200 or so that remained behind to protect the fort; but it will be in the remembrance

* *Mofussilite*, July 15, 1857.

of those who have studied the details of the battle of Agra, which took place on 10th of October 1857, that the opportune arrival of this very regiment on the ground under Brigadier Cotton gave a decided impetus to the British arms on that memorable day. Indeed, it is said to have been admitted by Tantia Topee that the shout of the 3rd Europeans, as they advanced, struck such terror into his forces, that there was no rallying them afterwards. So much for the 1,000 men slain by the troops of the proclamation writer.

Having described the manner in which he had endeavoured to excite kings and armies to rise and "purify the land from these Nazranees," the writer says, "the only inducement to enter into these plots is the call of our ancient religions; therefore this proclamation is distributed alike among Mahomedans and Hindoos." The outlaw, according to his own showing, had recently been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Is it likely that he there learned to call Hindooism one "of our ancient religions"? Was he sincere in calling it so? Or, was he merely cajoling the Hindoos, to obtain their aid in carrying out his badly devised political schemes? However untruthful this proclamation may be in many particulars, it must doubtless be accepted as throwing much light on the causes, or one of the causes, of the late outbreak.

Finally, religion is not only to supply the necessary amount of zeal in the deluded followers of the proclamation writer, but is to stand them in the stead of pay, of broken heads, of lopped off limbs, of support for their families, yea, of life itself! "Let zeal for religion alone be the motive which prompts those who determine to join me, not any worldly aspiration, that they may obtain everlasting rewards, besides attaining to great dignity and rank in a worldly sense, when our power is consolidated." It is to be feared that the Hindoo would have come in, in the latter consummation, for but a small share of the good things of this life; he would have been left to seek his consolation in religion alone, and to wait for his reward until he reached the world to come. And, perhaps, he would have been advised, by way of caution, to make sure of the good in reversion, by

abandoning his ancient religion, and embracing that of the mendacious proclamation writer.

On the 13th of June 1857, the following translation appeared in the *Bengal Hurkaru*. The original had been published on the 8th of the same month in a Mahomedan newspaper, at Calcutta, entitled the *Doorbin*, and copied into another paper, of the same class and locality, called the *Sultan-ul-Akbari*, two days afterwards:—

XXIII. " *Translation of the Delhi Proclamation.*

"Be it known to all the Hindoos and Mahomedans, the subjects and servants on the part of the officers of the English forces stationed at Delhi and Meerut, that all the Europeans are united in this point, —first, to deprive the army of their religion, and then, by the force of strong measures, to christianise all the subjects. In fact, it is the absolute orders of the Governor General to serve out cartridges made up with swine and beef fat: if there be ten thousand who resist this, to blow them up; if fifty thousand, to disband them.

"For this reason, we have merely for the sake of the faith concerted with all the subjects, and have not left one infidel of this place alive; and have constituted the Emperor of Delhi upon this engagement, that whichever of the troops will slaughter all their European officers and pledge allegiance to him, shall always receive double salary. Hundreds of cannon and immense treasure have come to hand: it is therefore requisite that all who find it difficult to become Christians, and all subjects, will unite cordially with the army, take courage, and not leave the seed of these devils in any place.

" All the expenditure that may be incurred by the subjects in furnishing supplies to the army, they will take receipts for the same from the officers of the army, and retain them by themselves: they will receive double price from the Emperor. Whoever will at this time give way to pusillanimity, and allow himself to be overreached by these deceivers, and depend upon their word, will experience the fruits of their submission like the inhabitants of Lucknow. It is therefore necessary that all Hindoos and Mahomedans should be of one mind in this struggle, and make arrangements for their preservation with the advice of some creditable persons. Wherever the arrangement shall be good, and with whomsoever the subjects shall be pleased, those individuals shall be placed in high offices in those places.

" And to circulate copies of this proclamation in every place, as far as may be possible, be not understood to be less than a stroke

of the sword. That this proclamation be stuck up at a conspicuous place, in order that all Hindoos and Mahomedans may become apprised and be prepared. If the infidels now become mild, it is merely an expedient to save their lives. Whoever will be deluded by their frauds, he will repent. Our reign continues. Thirty rupees to a mounted, and ten rupees to a foot, soldier, will be the salary of the new servants of Delhi."

First, there is the usual amount of rot about religion,—the Hindoo and Mahomedan religion,—which "all the Europeans are united" to purloin. The commodity is one in which few Europeans would venture to speculate. It would, were it thrown into any of the markets of Europe, prove a drug, and yield but a poor return. It must, nevertheless, be admitted, that a few Europeans—a very few—have often brought the same charge against one another;—that is to say, they have charged each other with the fact, if not with the intention. How often has the missionary declaimed against the godless colleges, and represented the government educational system as one which deprives the native of his religion without providing him with a substitute? And frequently, also, has been heard the upholder of the government system retorting on the missionary, by telling him that he, too, as effectually, or more effectually in proportion to his direct efforts, deprives the native of his faith, without being able to induce him to accept of an offered substitute. Hearing these frequent mutual recriminations from opposite parties, the native may feel disposed to believe that what both say must be true; and it is not to be wondered at that one who is but little qualified to discriminate between these few and the many Europeans, should at length conclude that all Europeans were united in a design to deprive the native of his religion, the only difference of opinion being as to the best mode in which this object was to be accomplished. Nevertheless, it is a fact, that by far the greater number of Europeans in India care so little for these things, that they would not accept the Hindoo, Mahomedan, or any other religion, except the one they were born in, at a gift, not even if they were paid for so doing.

But the best of it is, that the religion which the Europeans are said to have combined to filch, is that of the army; and, "more exquisite still," that of an army in mutiny of the worst state. An exhibition of a few of the fruits of this religion will enable the Europeans to judge of the quality of the precious article which they are represented as designing to pilfer. The following picture is said to have been drawn by the ex-king of Delhi:—"One regiment of infantry has taken up its quarters at the Delhi, another at the Lahore, and a third at the Ajmir Gate, within the walls of the city, and have thoroughly desolated several of the bazars. Moreover, without reference to night or day, they enter and plunder the houses of the inhabitants, on the false plea that they have concealed Europeans. They force locks and shop doors, and openly carry away the property from the shops, and they forcibly loose the horses of the cavalry and take them off. * * * Moreover, the men of the army go about threatening and intimidating the royal servants and the inhabitants of the city. * * * They now clamorously demand allowances daily, and above all, daily take allowances for more men than are present. Besides this, with oppression and violence, they forcibly take away the wares of the shopkeepers in the city without paying for them, and commit, moreover, every variety of other excesses and aggressions imaginable."* In another place, these pious mutineers are charged with carrying away "the very timbers of the roofs" of the houses belonging to the ex-king's faithful subjects.† These particulars being furnished in the testimony of a friend, are above suspicion: had they been alleged by an enemy, it might have been suspected that they were, if not absolutely false, greatly exaggerated, for the purpose of defaming the mutineers' character.

The next thing which all the Europeans are said to have combined for is "by the force of strong measures to christianise all the subjects." As nothing has been said before about depriving "all the subjects" of their religion, it is presumed that there is some mistake in this part of the proclamation. It is

* Blue Book "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 127, 128.

† Ibid, p. 15.

elsewhere asserted that the English are averse to forcing religion upon the acceptance of any one by strong measures. Englishmen are not only opposed to the practice as regards themselves, but as regards others also. Finding that strong measures were practised in India against him who might change his faith, the British, determined to put an end to these things, enacted a law which secured to every one, whatever his newly adopted creed might be, all the rights to property which he would have enjoyed had he never swerved from the faith of his fathers. This law protects alike the Christian or Hindoo who may embrace the faith of Mahomed or Zoroaster, and the Hindoo or Mahomedan who may adopt the belief of Christians; and the enactment, however much it may be regarded as in advance of the mental progress of the people for whose benefit it was designed, is nevertheless a standing proof of the aversion felt by the English to the use of strong measures to coerce people into the adoption of a creed that is not in accordance with their consciences.

Then comes the specification of the "strong measures": "In fact, it is the absolute orders of the Governor General to serve out cartridges made up with swine and beef fat: if there be ten thousand who resist this, to blow them up; if fifty thousand, to disband them." Thus, the writer of the proclamation jumps back again from "all the subjects" to "the army"; and this, too, by the aid of one of the most glaring falsehoods that were ever written. From his allusion to disbanding, it may be presumed that he wrote after the sentence on the 19th N. I. had been carried out on the 31st March 1857; or, at all events, after the order for disbanding that regiment had been issued on the 28th of the same month.* More than two months before the latter date, that is, on the 27th of January 1857, the Governor General had issued the following order with reference to the cartridges:—"In order to remove the objection the sepoys may raise to the grease used for the cartridges of the rifle-muskets, all cartridges are to be issued

* Appendix to Papers relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies (Inclosures in Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6), p. 54.

free from grease, and the sepoys are to be allowed to apply, with their own hands, whatever mixture suited for the purpose they may prefer."* Here, then, is an order, issued by the accused two months before the accusation was written, in direct opposition to that which is falsely laid to his charge. That this order was not a mere sham, or a dead letter, is shown from the fact that in the depôt of instruction in musketry at Umballa, between January and May 1857, the sepoys "greased their own cartridges with a composition of *ghi*, that is, clarified butter, and bees'-wax; these materials they themselves purchased from natives, whenever they pleased to get them."† But apart from these facts, no one, be he either an educated Englishman or native, who is acquainted with the course that has been invariably pursued with regard to the religious scruples of the sepoys, will for a moment believe, that the Governor General, or any other educated English gentleman, would issue the order which the proclamation so falsely and brazenfacedly affirms was promulgated.

But let it be observed that the proclamation writer is overwhelmed with concern not only regarding the Hindoo religion, but also on account of the Mahomedan faith; by which the hypocritical charlatan would be understood to imply that the touching of beef or pork fat would deprive the Mussulman toucher of his religion. It has been very clearly shown, in the proclamation of Feroze Shah before quoted, that to the Mussulman the touch of the unclean grease was attended with no religious defilement; and there is also the testimony of the instructor of musketry at the Umballa depôt, that "as far as the cartridge question went, the Mahomedan sepoys laughed at it."‡ It follows, therefore, that all the pious indignation to which the proclamation gives vent on the score of the damage likely to

* Appendix to Papers relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies (Inclosures in Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6), p. 5.

† Blue Book "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 101.

‡ Ibid. Jacob's Horse, or the Scinde Irregular Horse, composed of high-caste Hindoos and Mussulmans, found no religious scruple or difficulty of any kind in biting the greased cartridges; and still those men retain their religion.

accrue to the Mahomedan religion from the use of the cartridges, is mere pretence. In fact, the attentive reader of the proclamation now under review, and of others that have since appeared, must come to the conclusion that the religious pretence was got up solely to estrange the Hindoo sepoy from his old employers, and to draw him into the ranks of the Mahomedan conspirators, whose ultimate object was to destroy the British power, and re-establish on its ruins the empire of the great Mogul. The poor Hindoo sepoy dupes who lent themselves to aid in this object have lost the advantages which the service of the East India Company held out to them, and gained nothing in their stead. The golden dreams that took possession of their imaginations have doubtless by this time been painfully dissipated, and succeeded by visions of a wintry existence, to be terminated in cold poverty.

Not only were the poor creatures cheated by groundless fears on account of their religion, they were also allured by false promises of wealth, which it was never intended they should realise. "Whichever of the troops," continues the proclamation, "will slaughter all their European officers and pledge allegiance to him [the king of Delhi], shall always receive double salary. * * * Thirty rupees to a mounted, and ten rupees to a foot, soldier, will be the salary of the new servants of Delhi." How sadly disappointed the dupes must have felt when they experienced the painful reality, first, of irregularly distributed pay at the usual rates, and secondly, of the failure of even this, when it became necessary to clamour for a mere driblet, hardly sufficient for a bare subsistence. As early as the 12th of July 1857, little better than a month after the British troops arrived before Delhi, the ex-king announced a "scarcity of funds in the treasury," adding—"Those who are willing to be satisfied with a trifle, may be paid something as pecuniary assistance."* By the 16th of August matters had assumed even a worse aspect; and his ex-majesty was compelled to utter the following sentence:

* Blue Book "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 48.

"So long as all cannot be paid their regular allowances, no single individual will receive anything."* In fact, it seems doubtful that the ex-king ever promised the rates of pay mentioned in the proclamation; for, when orders were issued to Abdul Karim to enlist 400 foot soldiers and one regiment of cavalry, the pay of each foot soldier was "to be five, and that of each trooper 20 rupees per mensem."† It is probable, therefore, that the writers of the proclamation made the false promise without the ex-king's authority, and thereby committed themselves to a double falsehood. The lying nature of the promise is not a whit lessened by its not having been made directly in the king's name; every one to whom the proclamation was addressed, and whom it was considered likely to affect, was led to believe that it was written with the ex-king's sanction. "Who," it was unreasoningly inquired, "Who but the king could make such a promise?"

XXIV. "His Majesty [the king of Delhi] then proceeded to bestow consideration on the following petitions:— * * * A petition from Kashi Rao Holkar of Indore, expressive of his devotion and zealous activity in the service of the king; avowing his fixed purpose and determinate resolve to ruin and exterminate the English, clever in all villany; and forwarding five of the heads of enemies killed."—*Suraj-ul-Akhbar*, 25th August 1857.‡

The number of heads is exaggerated, as, by all accounts, only two of the victims of the Indore mutiny were decapitated. It is unlikely that any heads were sent to Delhi; but, if they were, it is certain that they were not sent by Holkar, as will be immediately evident. If it be borne in mind that, at the time of the outbreak, the real power and authority possessed by Holkar far exceeded those of the phantom king of Delhi, it will be apparent that the former could have had no temptation to degrade himself by a show of devotion and zeal in the service of the latter. The greater, even amongst natives who have had

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 69.
† Ibid, p. 105. ‡ Ibid, p. 111.

no English training, would never dream of serving the less. If Holkar had been brought up in gross ignorance of geography, English history, and the national resources of Britain, he might possibly have dreamt of ruining and exterminating the English, in the same way that the king of Delhi dreamt of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca in or about August 1857, or, as instructed by Nana, the Cawnpore sepoys dreamt of making an attack on England. But Holkar's education had given him too much knowledge of the British to allow him to indulge in visions such as the alleged "fixed purpose and determinate resolve" imply.

Had Holkar been regarded by his troops as one disposed to favour their cause, they would in all probability have left his treasury untouched, and he would not have been a loser to the extent of about £150,000 in cash alone. Moreover, if he had been an approver of their conduct, as the petition implies, he would, instead of retarding their march by negotiations, in which he attempted even personally to induce the mutineers to return to their allegiance, have joined them and urged them on towards their destination with all possible despatch. No; but after all his efforts to bring the insurgents to a sense of their duty had failed, and when all his ingenuity to detain them had been exhausted, he returned to his palace, and deposited for safe keeping the remnant of his treasure, said to be about £40,000, in the Mhow fort, which was occupied by a mere handful of British artillery.

But this is not all. Holkar protected (his body-guard remained true to him) in his palace two Europeans, named Norish and Moren, two East Indians named Farral and Finlay, with some women and children. Before the mutineers made off with the treasure, they threatened to burn the palace, with all in it, unless the refugees were given up. But no inducements or threats could prevail with this faithful prince to surrender his charge; and after the mutineers had marched away, he sent the Christians to Mhow in perfect safety.

Lieutenant A. R. E. Hutchinson (Bheel Agent, and Political Assistant to the Governor General at Bhopawur, Indore),

with his wife and child, accompanied by Dr. Chisholm, Mrs. Stockley, four children, and a native female servant, finding that the Bheel troops at Indurpore could not be trusted, disguised themselves, and proceeded to the Jabwa territory. Here they were hospitably entertained in the young prince's palace. After they had been there six days, a letter was received from Holkar by the young prince of Jabwa, "threatening vengeance should any insult be offered" to the refugees, and telling him that a party had been despatched for their escort; and Holkar, in a letter to Lieutenant Hutchinson, requested that officer to come at once, that he "might yet save his kingdom during the absence of Sir R. Hamilton." Accordingly, four days afterwards the party left the hospitable roof of the prince of Jabwa, and, under the protection of Holkar's military escort, arrived safely in four days at Mhow. Four days afterwards, Lieutenant Hutchinson went to Indore, on a visit to Holkar, who spoke most feelingly of what had happened, and declared that it would never have occurred "had Sir R. Hamilton been in the country."*

How the "petition" could have got to Delhi must of course be matter of mere surmise. The document might have been forged on the spot, or written by some of the scoundrels about Indore, who, because Holkar would not join them, attempted to injure him by making him appear inimical to the British government.

XXV. "*Order from the* KING [*of Delhi*] * * * *dated 7th August* 1857.

"*To the ever faithful* RAO BHARA, *the Ruler of Kutch Bhoj.*

"CONSIDER yourself receiving the royal favour, and know! That Girdhari Singh, Subadar of the Grenadier company of the 16th Regiment of the Bombay Native Infantry, being introduced by the adviser of the State, the honoured of the country, the special slave, Muhammad Bukht Khan, Governor-general Bahadur, has come into the royal presence, and affirmed that you, ever faithful one, having put the whole of the infidels to the sword, have thoroughly cleansed

* Lieutenant Hutchinson's letter, dated "Mhow Fort, July 26," 1857, in the *Evening Mail* of September 1857.

and purified your domains of their unclean presence. We have been extremely gratified to hear of such conduct on your part. * * * Should any numbers of infidels reach your dominions by sea, you will have them slain."—*Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi],"* p. 67.

It is to be feared that some one had been hoaxing the court of Delhi by introducing a person under a fictitious name and title, as the name of Girdhari Singh is not to be found on the roll of native officers belonging to the 16th regiment of Bombay native infantry. Whether "the adviser of the State, the honoured of the country, the special slave, Muhammad Bukht Khan, Governor-general Bahadur," was cheating or being cheated when he introduced the pseudo subadar, it is difficult to tell. One thing, however, is certain, that the story said to have been told by the subadar is a groundless fabrication. During the outbreak of 1857, and since that time, the Ruler of Kutch Bhooj has remained faithful as ever to the British.

He has always evinced alacrity in serving the British government in every possible way. He placed at the disposal of government his screw-press, to enable the commissariat to press hay for the British cavalry that embarked at Mandavie for the Persian expedition. During 1857, he placed at the service of government the whole of his elephants. Troops passing towards Rajpootana found no better place in all India to land at than Mandavie; the Rao's servants were always in attendance, to provide supplies at the lowest market rate; and their attentions were unremitting, so long as the troops were marching within the boundaries of the Rao's dominions. So safe were the British interests and inhabitants in those parts, that every government soldier was withdrawn, except a few staff officers and non-commissioned officers, who superintended the military arrangements regarding the troops passing through, and the arsenal or ordnance depôt at Bhooj. Moreover, so unbounded was the confidence reposed in the Rao, and so faithfully was this confidence reciprocated by him, that at the time the British had not in that province a body of troops of the smallest numerical strength, the Rao's body-guard was

lent for the protection of the British arsenal at Bhooj, and performed that duty to the entire satisfaction of the authorities.

Nana is said to have issued the following proclamation:—

XXVI. "As by the kindness of God, and the ikbal or good fortune of the Emperor, all the Christians who were at Delhi, Poonah, Satarah, and other places, and even those 5,000 European soldiers, who went in disguise into the former city and were discovered, are destroyed and sent to hell by the pious and sagacious troops, who are firm to their religion; and as they have all been conquered by the present Government, and as no trace is left of them in these places, it is the duty of all the subjects and servants of the Government to rejoice at the delightful intelligence, and to carry on their respective work with comfort and ease."

It is doubtful that this proclamation gave delight to the rebels at Delhi and other places, or to the ill-disposed at Poona and Sattara, supposing it reached them. The assertions put forth in the "delightful" document would not be worth a negative, were it not that this book may fall into the hands of some of Nana's devotees. But it is questionable if, with such people, the word of a European will carry any weight. At all risks, however, it is hereby asserted, that the Christians at Poona and Sattara were not destroyed; evidence of which negative, any "pious and sagacious" believer in Nana may obtain, if he undertake a journey to either of these places. When Nana arrives in hell, too, it is to be hoped that he will find there none of the victims who were slaughtered at Delhi, or any other place, and that their absence may prove to him a painful disappointment.

The 5,000 European soldiers who went in disguise into Delhi have yet to be discovered. It may with safety be asserted that, at the time this proclamation was written, in June or July 1857, there were not before Delhi 5,000 European soldiers. Indeed, there had not been there at any time, including June the 8th, so great a number. However, when Nana finds so many, he may with all safety be allowed to try his hand at sending them

to hell, by means of the "pious" agents, "firm to their religion," who aided him in perpetrating the various massacres at Cawnpore. He made but poor progress on the 16th of July 1857 against Havelock's band, which did not exceed, Europeans and natives, one-third of that number. Nana has been invariably successful against the helpless: witness the slaughter of the Futtehghur fugitives on the plain of Cawnpore on the 12th of June, the massacre on the river on the 27th, the murder, on the 2nd of July, of those who had been captured in the boats, and the butchery of the women and children in the slaughter-house on the 15th of July 1857,—not to mention instances of the slaughter of single families, or even individuals.

XXVII.—"If you are coming to help us, it behoves you to eat your food there and to wash your hands here, for here the battle is set in array against the British, and, by the goodness of God, every one defeat to us is ten to them."—*A Letter from the Rebels at Delhi to the Mutineers at Bareilly*, in the *Friend of India*, 23rd July 1857.

Apart from the great fib, this extract is very amusing. Out of every eleven battles, the rebels were gaining ten; yet, strange to say, the British were never driven from their position, while the insurgents were invariably driven into the city. The cry for help certainly came with a bad grace from an army that, according to its own account, was achieving so much; and then, the speed with which the aid was required could only be expressed in such good old English phrases as, "If you fall down, don't wait to get up again." Add to these, the acknowledgment of the goodness of God for the numerous victories obtained by the rebels, and you have a mixture as potent as laughing gas.

XXVIII. "Another of the Nana's fables is, that certain water-mills which were erected by the Company for grinding grain at a fixed charge for the villagers, were implements in the great work of forcible conversion, and that in the said mills pig-bone dust was mixed with the flour."—*The Story of Cawnpore*, p. 193.

There were also rumours to the following effect: that government, by beat of drum, had prohibited flour from being ground in any village by means of the ordinary Indian mills, which were all to be confiscated,—had ordered the shopkeepers to buy from the public stores the impure flour, and vend it in all the markets,—had directed several maunds of it to be thrown into each well,—and had caused thousands of maunds to be taken into the regimental stores and markets, for issue or sale to the native troops. These rumours were widely circulated amongst the troops and the people, and implicitly believed in by multitudes.

Assuming that the water-mills had been erected as stated, and that they were, by designing men, made to appear as the instruments of conversion; it may be further assumed that the rates charged for the use of them were little more than nominal—so low, in fact, as to make it profitable for the people to resort to them in preference to the domestic mill-stones. In this case, government would appear to have placed itself in the position of a disinterested reformer, who, regardless of expense or any other consequences, attempts to confer a benefit on his fellow-creatures. Such reformers, it is well known, are invariably regarded with suspicion. Few, as most men are selfish, can understand why any one should incur expense on account of others, without prospect to himself of adequate remuneration; and the consequences are that suspicions will arise as to some ulterior object, which the reformer endeavours to keep in the back-ground. Even amongst the few that can comprehend the principle of public benevolence, there may be some who, out of mere envy or jealousy, will endeavour to cloak their own selfishness by attributing bad motives to the reformer; men whose individual profits have been reduced by the advance of the general welfare, and who imagine it to be to their interest to decry him and his actions.

It will not be necessary to enter into a lengthened and grave refutation of the absurdity involved in these silly rumours about pig-bone dust and cow-bone dust, both of which were said to have been employed for the purposes of conversion,

further than to remark that there is no religion whatever in existence amongst the Christians, which bases conversion on devouring pig-bone dust or cow-bone dust, pig's flesh or cow's flesh; and that the Hindoo, Mussulman, or Parsee, who should devour a bushel or ten bushels of the said dust, together with a whole hog and a whole cow, would be no more a Christian then than he was before he commenced these devouring operations. Further, it may be observed, that for such rumours to gain possession of the people's minds, there must have existed already in them a large amount of self-esteem or vanity, which caused them so easily to believe that the British government was taking such an immensity of trouble for their conversion.

XXIX. "Another anecdote has also reached us which may prove interesting. Some sepoys were recently heard to express their belief that it was really the intention of Lord Canning to convert them. A great authority among them informed his friends that he knew it to be a fact, that the Queen had sent for Lord Gough (sepoys have still a superstitious reverence for Lord Gough), and observed to him that she had a great number of Regiments in India which she had never seen; that she wished to see them, and would be glad if Lord Gough would be good enough to send two or three Regiments to England, as a specimen. To this his lordship replied that the men, unfortunately, were not Christians, and therefore could not go to England. Her Majesty seemed surprised, and asked if they could not be made Christians? Lord Gough said, of course; they would not refuse if asked, but he was afraid that the process of conversion would take a long time. How long? asked Her Majesty, with the well-known determination of her race. At least six months, was the answer. Very well; Her Majesty would wait six months, and directed Lord Gough to set about the work at once. Lord Gough accordingly communicated with Lord Canning, and the result is known!"—*Bengal Hurkaru*, 8th April 1857.

"Vanity of vanities!" One prominent occasion of the sepoy rising appears to have been pure vanity. The notion that the Queen of England, Lord Gough, and the British people, were mad upon the conversion of the Hindoo sepoys, seems to have haunted them under all circumstances. Neither the assurances of the Governor General, nor those of the most

popular military officers, sufficed to shake the Hindoo sepoys' belief in the intention of the government to make converts of them. They fancied themselves the observed of all observers—the admired of all admirers. The fame of the sepoy, he imagined, had spread as far as England, and the consequence was that, in his estimation, the Queen herself could not rest without an assurance that a sight of Jack sepoy would be vouchsafed to her. His vanity had not had full scope until, in imagination, he had degraded Her Majesty to the level of a low, impetuous, wayward, intriguing, unreflecting woman; and until he had degraded the otherwise respected Lord Gough (who, by the way, had been somewhat lavish in his praises of sepoy prowess) to the level of an idiot. The Queen could manage, by an unusual exertion of self-denial, to live six months longer in the hope of setting eyes upon the three regiments of sepoys; but the effect on the mind of Her Majesty of their non-appearance at the stipulated date must have been awful to contemplate; insanity, suicide, or heaven knew what might result! Yet the cruel Hindoo sepoys would not be converted; and Her Majesty, alas! grew—nothing the worse. Full six months, and two years to boot, have elapsed, since the alleged conversation took place, and yet no effort has been made, by the state, to convert Bengal John into a fit condition to pass over the sea, on a visit to the Queen of England; and, worse than this, Her Majesty has been pleased to proclaim that the religion of the people of India, who of course include the darling Bengal sepoy, is not to be in any way interfered with: moreover, she has thus postponed to an indefinite period the processes which, according to the foregoing conversation, were to have cleared the way for his journey to England. A greater blow at his vanity could not, perhaps, have been struck, than is inflicted by that part of the proclamation which declares perfect neutrality in matters of religion to be the policy of Her Majesty. But it must not be concluded that this measure will give entire satisfaction to him who is full of vanity. Vain people do not like to remain unnoticed. They so like to be the objects of everybody's notice and solicitude, and to fancy

themselves uppermost in the thoughts of others, that a declaration of indifference to their affairs wounds them seriously. They would rather be persecuted outright than remain unnoticed. If they could only be convinced that nobody was thinking of them, they would be cured. John sepoy is not the first whose head has been turned by the extravagant notion that "the eyes of the world" were upon him alone.

XXX. "*Proclamation.*

"It has been ascertained from a traveller, who has lately arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta, that previously to the distribution of the cartridges, for the purpose of taking away the religion and caste of the people of Hindoostan, a council was held, at which it was resolved that, as this was a matter of religion, it would be necessary to employ 7,000 or 8,000 Europeans, and to kill 50,000 Hindoostanees, and then all Hindoostan would be converted to Christianity.

"A petition to this effect was sent to Queen Victoria, and the opinion of the council was adopted. A second council was then held, to which the English merchants were admitted, and it was agreed that to assist in carrying out the work, the same number of European soldiers should be allowed as there were Hindoostanee sepoys, lest, in the event of any great commotion arising, the former should be beaten. When this petition was perused in England, 35,000 European troops were embarked in ships with the utmost rapidity, and despatched to India. Intelligence of their despatch was received in Calcutta, and the gentlemen of Calcutta issued orders for the distribution of the cartridges. Their real object was to make Christians of the army, under the idea that when this was done, there would be no delay in christianising the people generally. In the cartridges, the fat of swine and cows was used. This fact was ascertained from Bengalees who were employed in making the cartridges: one of these men was put to death, and the rest were imprisoned. Here they were carrying out their plans. Then the ambassador of the Sultan of Constantinople at the court of London sent information to the Sultan, that 35,000 English troops were to be despatched to India to make Christians of that country. The Sultan sent a firman to the Pasha of Egypt, to the effect that he was colluding with Queen Victoria; that this was not a time for compromise; that from what his ambassador sent, it appeared that 35,000 English soldiers had been despatched to India to make Christians of the people and soldiers of that country; that there was still time to put a stop to this; that if he was guilty of any neglect in the matter, what kind of a face would he be able to show to God; that that day would one day be his,

since, if the English succeeded in making Christians of the people of Hindoostan, they would attempt the same in his country. On the receipt of this firman of the Sultan, the Pasha of Egypt, before the arrival of the English troops, made his arrangements, and collected his troops at Alexandria, for that is the road to India, and on the arrival of the English army the troops of the Pasha of Egypt began firing upon them with cannon from all sides, and destroyed and sank the ships, so that not a single Englishman of them remained. The English at Calcutta, after issuing the order for biting the cartridges, and the breaking out, now spreading, of this mutiny and rebellion, were looking for assistance from the army coming from London; but God, by the exercise of his almighty power, settled their business there! When the intelligence of the destruction of the army of London was received, the governor-general felt great grief, and beat his head. *'At the beginning of the night, murder and robbery were conptemlated; in the morning, the body had no head, nor the head any covering! In one revolution, the sky became of the same colour, neither Nadir nor no Nadir's government remained!'*—This paper has been printed by order of Nana Saheb, 13th Zeiroe, and add 1273 Hijree 8."*

Such a tissue of pure lies is seldom met with. The usual appeal to the vanity of the native troops is made here also; Her Majesty, the Indian council, and the merchants, are dying to make converts of the sepoys. A remarkable difference is noticeable between the spirit of this document and that which immediately precedes it. There, Her Majesty was anxious to see three regiments of sepoys; here, she is desirous of killing 50,000 of them: there, the conversions said to be desired were limited to a few sepoys; here, the distribution of the cartridges is "for the purpose of taking away the religion and caste of the people of Hindoostan," so that all the country should "be converted to Christianity." Fancy the Indian council gravely planning an underhand crusade against the native religions, and calling in the English merchants to assist in the deliberations!

As to 35,000 British soldiers having been disposed of by the Pasha of Egypt, it may be remarked that such a number could have walked through the length and breadth of his land with comparatively small let or hinderance. But apart from this, it is well known to the people of Bombay and other places in India,

* *Lahore Chronicle.*

that several portions of the British army did come to India, during the late disturbances, *viâ* Egypt, and that no objection was raised against their passing through that country. The Sultan of Constantinople and the Pasha of Egypt are too well acquainted with the English people and their policy to imagine, as the foolish writer of this proclamation pretends to do, that they would undertake a crusade against any existing religion. The writer must have been very ignorant, if he did not know that a short time before the Indian outbreak the English had been fighting on the part of the Sultan against Russia, and that England and Turkey were on the best of terms with each other. The gross ignorance of the writer further peeps out in the passage where he says of Alexandria, "that is the road to India"; as if that were the only road, and the greater portion of the army of retribution had not arrived by another more frequented route. The great religious lie, about the intention of the government to convert the people of India to Christianity, has been so fully treated elsewhere that no space will be devoted in this place to the further consideration of that subject. Suffice it to say, that the "traveller," if he existed, must have availed himself largely of the proverbial license of his class, and pulled the long-low with a vengeance.

XXXI. "The annexed literal translation of a Proclamation that was taken off the wall of a mosque in Lucknow, in March 1858, may not be uninteresting :—

"'Be it known to all inhabitants of the city, and villages, zemindars, talookdars, soldiers regular and irregular, and foreigners residing in the city, that there are very few of the infidel English remaining : by the grace of God, and the bravery of our troops, that remnant shall soon be destroyed. Let no one be anxious. And to effect their destruction, let every man, at the risk of his faith, his life, and property, gird with the belt of confidence the loins of determination ! And be it known, that whoever among the inhabitants of the city or district, whether zemindars, talookdars, attendants, officers of the regular or irregular army, or foreigners from other countries, shall distinguish himself in the destruction of the unbelievers, and his conduct be laid before the ruling powers, and proved to their satisfaction, shall be amply rewarded with honours and distinctions, kheluts, grants, promo-

tion, and favours. Furthermore, be it known, that for the annihilation of the remnant of the unbelievers, forces of horse, foot, and artillery, have collected from all places, such as Cawnpore, Serai Meeran, Furruckabad, Futtehpore, Allahabad, Jounpore, Ghazeepore, Goruckpore, and from the four quarters; the detailed list of which is given below, in order that every man may read it for himself, and reflect and judge, what little difficulty there will be, with the aid of such a force, in destroying a wretched band of unbelievers :—

"'List.—At Furruckabad, with Khan Ali Khan Bahadur, 15,000 Tellingas and horse, and ten guns.

"'At Serai Meeran, with Chowdari Hashmat Ally Chuckladar, 10,000 horse and foot, and six guns.

"'At Cawnpore, Shekh Shujat Ali, Captain, with artillery; Sewruttun Sing, Collector and Chowdari, Mansab Ali Chuckladar, and Heeba Sing and other Talookdars, with a large force of horse and foot, regular and irregular, are about to arrive from the West.

"'From the East, of the Delhi troops, eight regular regiments and fourteen guns, with Najeebs and horsemen to the amount of 37,000, under Omrao Sing Chuckladar, and Ditti Sing Talookdar, having taken Meerut, have advanced as far as Nasceergunj, and will soon be at Cawnpore. Towards Futtehpore, Rana Beni Madho Talookdar, Nasihat Sing Talookdar, Heeralall Chuckladar, Rao Doorga Buksh, Bisnath Sing Talookdar, with a regular force, and six guns, besides three regiments of irregulars, have set out—indeed they have by this time arrived at Futtehpore.'

"' Towards Allahabad, Sheikh Fuzl Azeem Chuckladar, with eight pultans and two regiments (the word *regiment* is used here) of regular cavalry, three corps of Najeebs, two of irregular infantry, with 22 guns, besides 3,000 Talookdars, have assembled, and even now are about surrounding the place to annihilate the unbelievers. At Jounpore, Saiyud Mehid Lal Khan, Nazim of Sultanpore, with cavalry and ten regiments of regular infantry from Lucknow, with ten corps of Najeebs, and thirty regiments collected from the retinue of the Nazim, and 40,000 zemindars and men of wealth and Talookdars, with twenty guns, have been appointed for the slaughter of the unbelievers in Jounpore and Azeemghur, and even now are there. Towards Goruckpore are Syud Jung Khan Bahadur Nazim, Meer Dost Ally, Raja Maun Sing, Chuckladar of Rampoore, Raja Davee Buksh, and eleven regiments (regular), four of Cavalry, with all the Rajas of the neighbourhood of Fyzabad, Gonda, Baraitch, with regular and irregular troops, and 40 guns, and 50,000 men.

"' Towards the west of Cawnpore, Tantia Rao, with his innumerable followers, having murdered the people of several thanas, has besieged that place, and is encamped about two or three kos from Cawnpore. In a few days the Sirkaree troops (the rebels) who have marched to join Tantia Rao will assist him in murdering the infidels.'

"At Furruckabad, the kafirs have been so decidedly defeated, that hundreds of them have been put to the sword, while the others have thrown away their arms and have fled. There are a few who have taken refuge in the fort: they are besieged, and the troops have been sent to assist the besiegers. No sooner will the troops reach there than the kafirs will be murdered. Khan Bahadur Khan has despatched about 20,000 troops towards Cawnpore, to annihilate this misled tribe.

"From Delhi, confidential letters have been received, and it is ascertained from their contents that God has been kind to, and taken mercy on the king of that place,—that is, the younger son of Dost Mohamed having been informed of the ill-treatment of the Nasareens towards the king, at once took into his head to assist the king, and put to the sword all the kafir tribe with disgrace. He reinstated the king on the throne, and proclaimed the *Deen*. In short, by the grace of God, everywhere the Nasareens are murdered."—*Delhi Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1859.

It is a pity that the writer of this document did not date it, so as to save space and time, as well as the trouble of searching for the date. From the absence of any mention of or allusion to the presence of Europeans in Lucknow, it may be presumed that the proclamation was written between the date of the relief of the garrison by Sir Colin Campbell, in November 1857, and that of the re-occupation of the city in March 1858. The presence of European troops at Furruckabad being mentioned, implies that the proclamation could not have been written before the 3rd January 1858. Europeans ("unbelievers") are also mentioned as being in Jounpore; a fact which may be taken as possibly indicating the operations of the Jounpore field force at Chandah and Humeerpoor on the 19th, and Sultanpore on the 23rd of February, in which Brigadier Franks, with his force of Europeans and Nepaulese, had slaughtered about 2,000 of the rebel army, having only 2 killed and 16 wounded in the three engagements. It may be assumed, therefore, that the proclamation was written about the end of February or the beginning of March 1858, at the time the British forces were gradually concentrating on Lucknow, and filling with consternation the hearts of the rebel leaders in the province.

That the writer of the document was uneasy, may be

inferred from the injunction—"Let no one be anxious"; and it seems probable, from the same passage, that the apprehensions of coming evils were not confined wholly to the ringleaders, but had taken some hold of their followings, as well, perhaps, as of the peaceably disposed inhabitants. What had they, according to their own showing, to be afraid of? There were "very few of the infidel English remaining"; there was but a "remnant of the unbelivers"; there was only "a wretched band of unbelievers"; at Furruckabad they had "been so decidedly defeated that hundreds of them" had "been put to the sword, while the others" had "thrown away their arms and" had "fled"; they were a mere "misled tribe"; and everywhere they ("the Nasareens") were "murdered." With all this alleged weakness amongst the Europeans, what, it may be repeated, had the rebels to fear? What made them so "anxious" about Cawnpore? Had they amongst them any whose hands had been stained by the blood of the innocents shed at that station on the 15th of July 1857, and on previous occasions?—and did the beatified spirits of the victims haunt the murderers by night, and refuse to them the consolation of "balmy sleep"? With such a few—a miserable few—of the Europeans alive, and these miles away from Lucknow, what had the rebels to fear at that station? Did they see gaping upon them with open mouths the wounds of the Jacksons, the Orrs, the Burnses, the Greens, the Carews, and the Rogerses? —or did the naked form of the poor maniac, Mrs. Feelow, arise before them, hurl defiance at their heads, and screech into their ears, as they sought rest,—"Your time is come, vengeance has overtaken you?" It is said that "a guilty conscience makes cowards of us all"; and, if the writer of the proclamation believed the number of surviving Europeans in India to be as small as he represented it, he and his friends made preparations to annihilate the remnant on a scale so utterly disproportionate, that a guilty conscience, or something else, was necessary, to account for them. Taking his regiments and *pultuns* at an average of five hundred each, and adding them to the numbers supplied, there must have been at Furruckabad, at Seerai

Meerun, at Nusseergunj, at Futtehpore, at Allahabad, at Jounpore and Azeemghur, towards Goruckpore, and towards the west of Cawnpore,—excluding "a large force of horse and foot regular and irregular," "a regular force," some "cavalry," and the "innumerable followers" of Tantia Rao, which cannot be estimated,—220,500 horse and foot, and 118 guns. If all this force was organised to annihilate the alleged paltry numbers of Europeans that remained, it must be regarded in the light of employing a sledge-hammer to kill a flea.

But it is possible that the writer of the proclamation may have been a man of the closet, depending upon mere rumour for his information. He may have been told that the Europeans were as weak as he represents them, and that the rebel forces were as strong as the proclamation alleges. It would, therefore, be unjust to suppose that he was actually fibbing. Be he right or be he wrong as to his own impressions, it is nevertheless true that what he related regarding the strength of the British was a pure fiction. During all the time that the British had held possession of India, there had never been in this country so strong a force of European troops as there was in the beginning of March 1858. The hosts for the Bengal Presidency had assembled at Cawnpore, whence they had been distributed to the different stations in Oude and its neighbourhood. Field forces had been despatched from Delhi; others had been moving from the Madras Presidency; the Punjaub had not only been settled, but its hordes had poured out to fight against the rebels; the Central India field force had commenced its operations; the Rajpootana troops had set out on their conquering expedition; troops from below were still arriving at Cawnpore; from many directions, or, as the proclamation has it, from "the four quarters," British forces were concentrating upon Lucknow; and Sir James Outram's force had for several months held the station of Alumbagh, in spite of all the efforts of the rebels to dislodge him. These facts will suggest a sufficient reason why the rebels and others in Lucknow should at that time have been "anxious," even if they had not been disturbed in mind by the apparitions of the murdered British prisoners.

The rebels at Lucknow seem to have differed in a marked manner from those of most other stations; for while the latter declared that they were fighting for their faith, the former urged every man to destroy the English "at the risk of his faith." And it is evident that this was not a mere figure of speech, whatever that about "the grace of God and the bravery of our troops" may have been; for the people who could embrue their hands in the blood of a maniac must have been already quite dead to any faith that could have exerted upon them a wholesome moral influence.

The proclamation states that the Delhi troops and others, numbering in all about 41,000 men, with 14 guns, had "taken Meerut." So far were the rebels from taking that position, that they never once attacked it. A body of them once marched from Delhi, fully equipped with entrenching tools, and fully determined to blow the British position there to atoms, as well as to annihilate to a man its defenders, women and children to boot. On the 30th of May 1857, at Ghazeeooddeennuggur, this valorous army found itself confronted with a small body of troops under Brigadier Archdale Wilson, got well thrashed, and lost some of its guns. Ashamed of their defeat and loss, the rebels rallied, and renewed the assault on the following day, only to be again defeated. This appears to have been the only determined attempt ever made by the enemy to assault Meerut. Strange to say, this attempt arose out of, or was in some way connected with, the following rebel fiction:—"Two troopers arrived from Meerut, and reported that a force, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had come to Meerut, with several lakhs of treasure from Bareilly and Moradabad. The Europeans there complained to them that the Meerut troops had revolted, and, killing numbers of them, had gone off to Delhi. The Bareilly and Moradabad forces replied that the Europeans had taken their revenge by killing three hundred of the Sappers and Miners, and that, no doubt, they [the Bareilly and Moradabad force] would experience similar kindness. On hearing this, the Europeans went into their entrenchments and commenced a cannonade, when the troops from Bareilly and Moradabad

erected batteries and returned the fire. Through the direction of God, a shot from the latter fired the mine the Europeans had laid, and the whole area enclosed by their entrenchments was blown up. On receiving this intelligence, the whole of the troops and the king were highly delighted, and fired five guns at Salimgurh in token of their joy."* Doubtless Meerut was a great eye-sore to the rebels and mutineers of Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Bareilly; but even the latter, when they in great strength passed close by the place, at the time of its greatest weakness, seem never to have dreamt of molesting it.

"At Furruckabad," saith the writer of the proclamation, "the kafirs have been so decidedly defeated, that hundreds of them have been put to the sword, while the others have thrown away their arms, and have fled. There are a few who have taken refuge in the fort; they are besieged, and the troops have been sent to assist the besiegers." This looks very like a cock-and-a-bull story: those who had not been slain, fled without their arms; a few of the survivors—without arms of course—had taken refuge in the fort; and until reinforcements arrived, the victorious army could not take that place, defended by a few unarmed men only. The sledge-hammer to kill the flea, again! But what are the facts of the case? When Sir Colin Campbell reached Futtehghur, on the 3rd of January 1858, he found no enemy there; and so precipitate had the mutineers and rebels been in their flight from the station, that they had not allowed themselves time either to carry off or destroy any portion of the gun-carriage and clothing stores which had been preserved there in large quantities. The commander-in-chief caused the palaces of the rebel Nawab of Furruckabad to be destroyed; and, after remaining there for a month or so, he left the place, having not once been disturbed during his sojourn there by either rebel or mutineer. This was the first time, since the outbreak of 1857, that a European force had been located at Futtehghur or Furruckabad; and these places not only remained in the undisturbed possession of the British until the proclamation

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 107.

was taken down from the wall of the mosque in Lucknow, but have ever since so remained.

The last paragraph of the proclamation looks dreamy—literally dreamy. There was at Delhi a man who was reputed, by the king and others, to possess miraculous endowments, such as, for instance, the gift of prophecy, and the power of interpreting dreams; and the alleged prophet, moreover, suffered so far from indigestion as to be able, on occasion, to dream a dream for himself;—not that he confessed to indigestion, or any other vulgar physical cause, being the originator of his dreams; on the contrary, he, or others for him, believed that he was audibly addressed from heaven. This dreamer is said to have had a dream, about the time the Persian forces came to Herat, "to the effect that he had seen a hurricane approaching from the west, which was followed by a great flood of water devastating the country; that it passed over, and that he noticed that the king suffered no inconvenience from it, but was borne up over the flood seated on his couch." The dreamer is said thus to have interpreted the vision:—"The King of Persia, with his army, would annihilate the British power in the East, would restore the king to his ancient throne, and reinstate him in his kingdom, and at the same time the infidels (meaning the British) would be all slaughtered."* Let the reader compare this interpretation with the last paragraph of the proclamation, and say whether the alleged contents of the confidential letters from Delhi are not dreamy to a degree. The difference in the agency may be attributed to the King of Persia having fallen, and the family of Dost Mahomed having risen, in rebel estimation.

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 71.

CHAPTER IV.

FICTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

THE Earl of Shaftesbury is said to have taken occasion to observe, at a meeting assembled in Crosby-hall, Bishopsgate-street,—

XXXII. "Women and children have been massacred before, but I don't believe there is any instance on record where children have been reserved in cold blood to be most cruelly and anatomically tortured in the presence of their horrified parents before being finally put to death. (Sensation)."—*Evening Mail*, 1857.

This is said with reference to the Indian outbreak of 1857. There is not on record, in any published document,* a single credible instance of children having "been reserved," by the mutineers, or even by the rabble, "in cold blood to be most cruelly and anatomically tortured in the presence of their horrified parents before being finally put to death." Mutilations of children there have, it is believed, been; and those, too, in the presence of one of the parents; but there is nothing whatever, worthy of belief, to show that these atrocities were perpetrated in the deliberate manner implied in the terms "reserved in cold blood," and "anatomically tortured."

In Exeter-hall, at a meeting presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury, he is reported to have said,—

XXXIII. "In May last [1857], when the Indian empire was in a state of the greatest distress, the Native Christians at Krishnagur came forward with the offer of their personal services, and the use of their bullocks for the draught of the army. This offer was made in

* Or in any unpublished document that the author has seen, or heard of.

a respectful and most grateful memorial, in which they acknowledged the comforts they had enjoyed under a good government, expressed their sense of the blessings of Christianity, and stated that they were desirous of rendering a service to those under whose rule they had thriven well. The offer of these men was rejected, simply and solely because they were Christians (hear, hear); and in the face of the Hindoos, amid the jeers of Brahmins and Mahomedans, the faith of Christ was trampled under foot, in order that offence might not be given to the coxcombical and overweening Brahmins (hear, hear)."—*Evening Mail*, from January 4 to January 6, 1858.

For the rejection of the Christians' offer, two reasons are assigned. The first, which is expressed in the words "simply and solely because they were Christians," excludes any other reason; or else, the emphatic words "simply and solely" have no meaning. When this final reason was announced, the multitude in the great hall cried "Hear, hear"! The acclamation had scarcely died away, when out came another reason, different from the first, which allowed no other—"in order that offence might not be given to the coxcombical and overweening Brahmins"!—and so pleased was the great multitude with the new discovery, that "Hear, hear" was again vociferated! When a second reason was adduced for that which had been implied to admit of no reason but the first, there was not found in the vast mob, as far as is known from the report, one man to cry "Question, question!" It is not to be wondered at, if one who can in public give utterance to such incongruous rhapsodies as these, should look with an evil eye on the attempt to instruct the natives of India, or anybody else, in logic and the mathematics.

Whether the bullocks were offered and refused or no, is not generally known in India; and, as it would not be safe to accept the statement that they were, from one who is so apt as the Earl of Shaftesbury to make rash affirmations, the proper course will be to reject his statement until it is confirmed by unquestionable authority. Certainly, those who know anything of the Indian civilians will not believe that they would, in May 1857, reject the offer of assistance from respectable natives, "simply and solely because they were

Christians." The same transaction, it is believed, the Rev. Dr. A. Duff refers to as follows:—"A similar address [truly loyal and admirable] was also forwarded from the large body of native Christians in the district of Krishnaghur; offering, at the same time, any assistance in their power with their carts or bullocks, &c."* Not a word is said by the doctor about the refusal of Government to accept the carts or bullocks on account of the tenderers being Christians, or on any other account. So far is he from saying this, that he very soon afterwards informs the reader how—"The magistrate of Tipperah * * * * sent the other day to one of the Dacca missionaries an earnest requisition for a hundred and fifty native Christians for defensive purposes, as the only class of natives in whose loyalty and attachment to us any real confidence could be placed."† It is not likely that the doctor, if he had been aware of Government having refused the Krishnaghur Christians' offer, would have been silent regarding it.

At a meeting assembled in Crosby-hall, Bishopsgate-street, the Earl of Shaftesbury is said to have taken occasion to observe,—

XXXIV. "It is only this very day that I have seen a copy of a letter written and sent to England by an officer of rank, who was one of the first that entered Cawnpore a few hours, or, perhaps, only one hour, after the perpetration of the frightful massacre which was enacted there; and think of the description he gives, and what was seen by the whole soldiery, and you will not wonder at the exasperation that was felt by every man among them who bore the European name. On arriving at Cawnpore, he states—and he can scarcely permit himself to write the sad story—that, to his unutterable horror and dismay, he saw a number of European women stripped stark naked, lying on their backs, fastened by the arms and legs, exposed to a burning sun; others, again, had been actually hacked to pieces, and so recently, that the blood which streamed from their mangled bodies was still warm. He found children of 10, 12, 13, and 14 years of age treated in the same horrible manner at the corners of the streets and in all parts of the town, attended by every circumstance of insult, the most awful and the most degrading, the most horrible

* The Indian Rebellion, 2nd edn., p. 192.

† Ibid, pp. 192, 193.

and frightful to the conception, and the most revolting to the dignity and feelings of civilized men. Cawnpore was only a sample of what was perpetrated in various parts of that vast region."—*Evening Mail,* 1857.

The officer is said to have "entered Cawnpore a few hours, or, perhaps, only one hour, after the perpetration of the frightful massacre." The massacre of the imprisoned women and children at Cawnpore took place on the evening of the 15th of July 1857; and the British troops under General Havelock marched in on the morning of the 17th. Hence the "officer of rank" could not have entered before about thirty-six hours after the massacre took place. The crucifixions are stated by the noble earl to have been "seen by the whole soldiery." This is hardly credible; since, in all the numerous letters written by the soldiers composing Havelock's force, and which were published in the newspapers, not a word is said about the crucifixions described so circumstantially by his lordship. Motives of discretion, and the finer feelings which are the result of superior education, may have prevented many a pen from recording brutal excesses; but this reserve cannot be expected from plain soldiers, who have not experienced the educational and other advantages from which it springs. The fact, therefore, that not one of the soldiers of the artillery, the Madras fusiliers, H. M. 64th foot, and H. M. 78th Highlanders, mentioned in his letter the outrages particularised by the noble earl, is sufficient to convince the unprejudiced reader that they were not "seen by the whole soldiery."

If the story of this "officer of rank" (for it can scarcely be believed that the noble earl invented the fable, though he may possibly have dreamt it) is to be believed, the fearful account of the slaughter-house and of the well at Cawnpore, given by all the witnesses who at the time were on the spot and in the neighbourhood, will have to be rejected. The account given by several of these witnesses states generally, that all the women and children that were imprisoned in a certain building were killed or wounded, and then thrown into an adjacent well; and this account is corroborated by numerous European witnesses,

who saw the well choked with the remains of the victims: the story of the Earl of Shaftesbury has no authority but his own, and he was thousands of miles away from the scene of the outrages he vouches for.

But observe, further, the recklessness of his lordship; and notice, also, that here he has not, and does not pretend to have, the authority of a letter from "an officer of rank," or from anybody:—"Cawnpore was only a sample of what was perpetrated in various parts of that vast region." The only legitimate inference from this "sample" is, that in various parts of India there were perpetrated, on a larger scale, the particular atrocities described in his lordship's address to the audience at Crosby-hall. But in this there is no truth whatever.

The testimony of J. W. Sherer, Esq., magistrate of Cawnpore, is as much to the point as evidence not specially manufactured to meet the case can be. He says—"I accompanied General Havelock's force to this place [Cawnpore], and have remained here ever since; I have never heard a story I considered credible, of mutilation, torture, or dishonour. I would also state that there were no dead bodies lying about in the enclosure of the house, nor in the house itself, where the ladies were massacred."* Of course, the word of Mr. Sherer on the spot, is worth infinitely more than that of the Earl of Shaftesbury's anonymous correspondent, whom nobody will acknowledge to know.

At a meeting held in Exeter-hall, the Earl of Shaftesbury, occupying the chair, is reputed to have said,—

XXXV. "The mutiny broke out in the Presidency of Bengal, where the utmost care had been taken that not one of the Sepoys, and, if possible, not one of the natives, should hear the Word of God; and where the Government had used all their power and influence to prevent the progress of truth and the enlightenment of the native mind. * * * It was, however, in Bengal that the Word of God had been most carefully suppressed, so far as that object could be effected by the Government."—*Evening Mail*, January 4 to January 6, 1858.

* Letter to C. Beadon, Esq., dated June 28, 1858.

It seems to be implied in this extract, that if the sepoys and other natives in Bengal had not been prevented by Government from hearing the Word of God, the mutiny would not have broken out in that Presidency. Before drawing any more inferences from the foregoing passage in the noble earl's speech, let it be remembered that the first, or nearly the first, regiment that manifested disaffection in Bengal, and certainly the first that spilled European blood, was the 34th native infantry, a regiment whose commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Wheler, had for a long time been in the habit of preaching the Word of God to the sepoys in the bazar. On the other hand, it may be asked, why, as the public are not aware that any commanding officer in Madras or Bombay was in the habit of so preaching to the sepoys of his regiment, the mutiny did not first break out in one of these Presidencies? If there be any truth in the general principle implied in the extract cited above, the mutiny ought not to have shown itself in the Bengal army, where, rumour asserts, there were more than one missionary or preaching commanding officer; but the outbreak should have burst forth in Bombay or Madras, where such bazar-preaching commanding officers are unknown either to the public or to the sepoys.

In Bengal, the noble earl goes on to inform us, "the Government had used all their power and influence to prevent the progress of truth and the enlightenment of the native mind." Having thus expended *all* their power and influence, no more of either could have been left for any other purpose, good or bad. Were the sentence just quoted not a foolish one, it would be both harsh and unjust, even though the post preterite were extended back to embrace a quarter of a century. It will not here be necessary to enter upon the unprofitable task of proving a negative; it will be sufficient to allude briefly to the efforts that have been made by the Government of India, for several years past, to aid "the progress of truth and the enlightenment of the native mind." There is the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay, including schools and a college in which are taught the simplest rudiments of knowledge and the most abstract of the sciences; connected with these are the English

schools at Poona, Belgaum, Ahmedabad, Surat, and other places in Western India; besides a numerous host of native schools, where arithmetic, grammar, and a smattering of the higher mathematics, are taught in the vernacular; there are, too, the law class, the drawing class, and the class for photography; and last, not least, there is the Grant Medical College, which has given Bombay a numerous progeny of educated native doctors. All these institutions, and more, are partly supported by, and under the supervision of Government; and it is likely, were the state to withdraw its aid, the greater number of these, if not the whole of them, would cease to exist. Bengal, too, is thickly dotted with Government colleges and schools. Madras, either because Government interference there is less needed, or from some other cause, cannot boast of so comparatively extensive an array of Government colleges and schools.

But, perhaps, it will be said, that the "truth" and "enlightenment" referred to by the noble earl are not such as are communicated by means of secular instruction, but such as are contained in the holy Gospel. Let it be even so, and it is thought possible to show that the "power and influence" of Government have not been wholly idle in this respect; at all events they have been sufficiently active to alarm some Europeans and some natives, and to cause the former to attribute the mutiny to these exertions, and the latter to point at them as indications of a breach of faith, and as a justification of rebellion. It cannot be denied that the state has exercised its "power and influence" in interfering with the religious usages of the people of Hindoostan—in abolishing by law the rite of *Suttee*, or preventing the Hindoo widow from immolating herself on the death of her husband; in making it lawful by enactment for a Hindoo widow to marry; in providing, by law, that no one shall suffer loss of property in consequence of changing his religion; and in allowing, out of the public funds, grants-in-aid for secular purposes to missionary schools. On the latter point, the *Central Star* of January 28, 1857, informs us,—"The Church Mission Society received a grant of six hundred rupees from Government for the erection of a school-house at Zufferabad.

A further grant of 480 rupees per annum was authorized to increase the efficiency of that institution." These things have been done by the state in the very teeth of the strongest Indian prejudices; at the same time, however, without any intention of meddling with the native's religion, or inducing him to embrace Christianity.

" The utmost care had been taken that not one of the sepoys, and, if possible, not one of the natives, should hear the Word of God," says the noble earl; and he further informs his audience that " the Word of God had been most carefully suppressed, so far as that object could be effected by the Government." Under this Government, which was so careful to suppress the Word of God, there was a " Captain Wheeler, who collected the first orphans at Futtehgurh, also established and supported at his own expense bazar schools for the heathen. * * * He was acting as a missionary, and for many years afterwards was a liberal supporter of the mission." He addressed " sepoys and others on the subject of religion"; spoke on the same subject " without reserve to every person"; and never troubled himself to inquire whether the person he addressed belonged " to this or that regiment."* Scarcely a subscription list in support of missionary operations appears, in which there are not the names of some of the highest Government functionaries, civil and military. The *Bombay Gazette* of the 27th of November 1857 finds, by reference to the last Calcutta Directory, " that in the beginning of this year there were about fifty Protestant missionaries and ministers, other than the Company's chaplains, labouring between Benares and the Sutlej"; and so much support did these receive from the officers of Government, and others, that the estimated loss in subscriptions to the Church Missionary Society alone, for that year, in consequence of the mutinies, was 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* Not only by monetary contributions, but also by personal exertions, have some of the highest functionaries of the Government of India aided in the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives of the Bengal Presidency. This was done publicly, and met

* A Memorial of the Futtehghur Mission, pp. 42, 43.

with no check or interference from the head of the Government or from any servant of the state. Mr. Tucker,* the Commissioner of the Benares Division, originated a scheme of Bible examination, offering pecuniary rewards to those students who should acquit themselves most creditably. On the 5th of January 1857, "there was an examination of Hindu students at Benares in questions from the Bible. Upwards of one hundred and fifty natives from different schools met together at the mint, and competed for money prizes. * * * While only a few of the written answers were utter failures, the majority even of those which fell below the mark for prizes" showed "'a very fair—in some points a large—degree of scriptural knowledge.' * * * The Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces† was present at the competition for Bible prizes. He subsequently visited the Government College, the Normal College, the Church Mission's Institution, the Central School of the London Mission, and the Baptist Mission's School." It would be difficult to discover how much more "power and influence," short of actual preaching and tract distributing, could have been exercised for the furtherance of Christianity, by the Commissioner of Benares and the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces. The following extracts are taken from "The Escape of the Rev. Gopinath Nundy," published in the *Gnyandipak* of May 1, 1858 ‡:—"The prisoners in the Jail [at Futtehpore] were also daily instructed in Christianity and general knowledge by a Christian teacher, and every Sabbath morning the Gospel was preached by me. This privilege was granted by our pious magistrate. § * * * The judge and the magistrate, as well as other gentlemen, took a deep interest in the Mission, and helped us with their prayers, good advice, and pecuniary aid. When the number of native converts began to increase, six of them, at the suggestion of the late Honorable Mr. Colvin, became small farmers, taking some land

* See *Bengal Hurkaru*, 13th March 1857.

† The Honorable Mr. Colvin.

‡ Printed at Surat.

§ Mr. Tucker, who fell at Futtehpore, after, it is said, he had shot down eighteen rebels.

at the usual rate of revenue from zemindars, on their own responsibility; and, I am happy to say, they were doing well. * * * Once, when the Government order came for all the Patwarees (village record keepers) to be instructed in Nagri-Hindui, he* tried his best to stop their being taught in our school, but failed; and I am happy to say, upwards of three hundred grown-up men not only read the Gospel and attended prayers, but each of them was furnished with a copy of the New Testament to carry home." Whether these unchecked proceedings indicate the utmost care on the part of Government to suppress the Word of God, let the reader judge.

Moreover, if the Word of God had been so "carefully suppressed by the Government," it is difficult to understand how the native Christians of Bengal could call such a Government "good"; and yet we are told by his lordship that the Christians of Krishnagur "acknowledged the comforts they had enjoyed under a good government, expressed their sense of the blessings of Christianity, and stated that they were desirous of rendering a service to those under whose rule they had thriven well." Either the charge of the noble earl against the Government of Bengal must be false, or the professions of the Krishnagur Christians must have been hypocritical. Further, it was incumbent on his lordship to explain how it was that the Presidency in which the Word of God had been so carefully suppressed could produce a body of Christians capable of offering "their bullocks for the draught of the army," while in the more highly favoured Bombay (where, it is implied by the noble earl, the Word of God had not been so carefully suppressed), when the Government were straitened for carriage for the troops in 1857, not a Christian came forward with his bullocks; and the police had with great difficulty to impress carriage from the unwilling heathen. That there was one system of policy pursued in Bengal and a different one followed by the Government of Bombay, with regard to the Scriptures, is not true; the same general system has been observed in both Presidencies. That general system, notwith-

* The Deputy Collector, Hikmutulla Khan, who betrayed Mr. Tucker.

standing the exceptions cited above, has been one of simple neutrality. No systematic suppression of the Word of God has for many years been carried out by Government in Bengal, nor have any efforts been made by the Government of Bombay to introduce the Bible into those public schools which have been established for the instruction of natives. Has the Bible Society not distributed its publications in Bengal as well as in Bombay for many years past, without let or hinderance from the Government?

The Earl of Shaftesbury is reported to have said, when occupying the chair at a meeting in Exter-hall,—

XXXVI. "Let them open their eyes over the peninsula of India, and see where the mutiny had arisen. Was it in Madras, where there was the largest concentration of Christians? Was it in Bombay, where, as Dr. Wilson said, the sepoys came in hundreds to attend his Bible class, and to receive instruction in the schools?"—*Evening Mail*, from January 4 to January 6, 1858.

It seems to be implied in this passage, that because the sepoys in the Bombay Presidency were disposed to attend Bible classes, and to receive instruction in missionary schools, that Presidency was saved from sepoy mutiny. Is it necessary to inform the reader that there were mutinies in the Bombay Presidency, and that they had to be suppressed by disarming and hanging mutineers, or blowing them away from guns? Let Shikarpore, Kurrachee, Nusseerabad,* Aboo, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Rutnagherry, and Kolapore speak, and they will tell a tale; let the Army List be consulted, and it will bear record to at least two regiments having lost their numbers, and having been placed at the bottom of the list, for mutiny. This is sufficient for the first fiction.

The words to which attention is next solicited are these:—"Dr. Wilson said, the sepoys came in hundreds to attend his Bible class, and to receive instruction in the schools." Bombay being

* About thirteen of the 1st Lancers joined the mutineers at Nusseerabad.

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the locality mentioned in connection with this assertion, it is presumed that the Dr. Wilson referred to is Dr. John Wilson, of the Free Church of Scotland. "The schools" may include the English and the vernacular. But it is scarcely probable that the latter are intended, as each regiment is provided by Government with a school, which makes it unnecessary for the sepoy to go abroad for the purpose of learning to read and write in the vernacular; and, moreover, the commanding officers would in this case have no excuse for allowing the men to go out of the regimental lines for instruction. The English schools, therefore, seem to be those intended; and the question first to be answered is, "Do the sepoys come in hundreds to receive instruction in Dr. Wilson's English schools?—or did they ever so come?" There were attending the English school, *studying through the medium of English*, in 1855 and the three following years,—

Caste.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Hindu Pupils	166	110	99	110
Parsees..	10	2	1	4
Mahomedans	11	10	4	2
Israelites and Jews	22	22	20	20
Christians, — Romanists, Armenians, and Protestants	104	104	88	92
	313	248	212	228
Deduct Parsees and Christians ..	114	106	89	96
Total..	199	142	123	132

The reason for deducting Parsees is that they do not, as a general rule, enter the native army. The Christians are deducted, because such of them as are in the native army, in the band and drums, are not likely, had they leisure, to attend schools out of their lines, in Bombay; and moreover, it is presumed that the Earl of Shaftesbury's "sepoys" do not include Christians. The rest of the pupils, if they were all sepoys,

would not justify the noble earl's assertion that they "came in hundreds" to receive instruction in the schools. Those who have been in the habit of visiting the school, and attending its examinations, will not need to be told that the sprinkling of sepoys amongst the children was at the most, at any time, but small. A dozen would be a liberal approximation to the highest number of sepoys that ever attended at one time; and this dozen must include Israelites, who had no objection to reading their own Scriptures, the Old Testament.*

Possibly, the reason already given for excluding the native schools from the question may not be deemed sufficient. Let it be so; and let them be now considered. It may safely be premised that the schools in the imagination of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and to which the sepoys flocked "in hundreds," were not the "Girls' Schools"; and it is to be hoped that the exclusion of these from further consideration will not be deemed unfair. Turn then to the "Boys' Schools," vernacular. The reports exhibit the following attendance:—

Localities.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Studying through the medium of the Indian languages	63	63	35	104
At the Mission-house, Ambrolie, pupils.	21	8	..	..
Upper Girgaum	33	35	..	..
At Poor's Asylum	34	20	21	21
At Sankali Taláo	40	35	25	..
Mahableshwar	30	26	28	28
Kalian	..	50†	41†	60†
Beni-Israel School, Bombay	30	35	40	40
Beni-Israel School, Panwel ..	..	25	21	21
Beni-Israel School, Revadanda	..	35	40	41
Beni-Israel School, Alibag ..	113	24	48	49
Beni-Israel School, Agaláchi Wádi	..	16	32	32
Beni-Israel School, Birwádi ..	..	15	22	22
Carried over..	364	387	353	418

* The "Branch School at Kalyan" is not included, as Kalyan is not a military station.

† Some of these were studying English.

Localities *(contd.)*.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Brought over..	364	387	353	418
Portuguese School near Goa	..	40	..	..
In Schools for the Dheds, at Surat (up to September)	150	..	..	..
	514	427	353	418
Deduct for Kalian, and Beni-Israel Schools at Panwel, Revadanda, Alibag, Agaláchi Wádi, Birwádi, and the School at Goa, as these are not sepoy stations	113	205	204	225
Total..	401	222	149	193

As it is improbable that the sepoys would leave the clean regimental schools in their own lines, and go two miles away to consort with the filthy inhabitants of the "Poor's Asylum," the numbers at the school of that institution might with propriety have been excluded; and the same, with regard to distance, may be said of the attendants at Sankali Taláo. Nor is it likely that sepoys would stray, in quest of instruction, beyond the Mission-house to Upper Girgaum. However, taking the numbers as they stand after the deduction of the schools at non-military stations, and taking the year 1855, which has the larger residue, it would require that half the pupils at the remaining schools should be sepoys, in order that the words "in hundreds," employed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, should be truthfully applicable to the attendance;—yea, half the attendants in the "Schools for the Dheds, at Surat," would have to be sepoys. But it is a fact, that if the whole of the 150 Dheds had been sepoys, the remaining 50 necessary to make up the "hundreds" could not have been found in the Bombay schools. Native pupils who have attended the vernacular schools of Dr. Wilson, at different periods, for the last twenty years and more, are not aware that sepoys ever came there "in hundreds," or even *in tens.* Those who have been in the habit of visiting the schools

have failed to discover in them at any time sepoys in any considerable number.

Then, as to the sepoys who "came in hundreds to attend his [Dr. Wilson's] Bible class," it is to be observed that three of the Reports—those for 1855, 1856, and 1857—give a tabular statement (in page 15 of the two former and in page 13 of the latter) of the "Regular services throughout the year at the Mission-house." This table shows the services performed each day of the week, and amongst them occurs "Class," meaning, it is supposed, "Bible class." The attendants at this class, which was held on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, seem to have been "Catechumens" alone; in fact, the hour, "½ p. 7 A. M.," would not suit a sepoy. In the Report for 1855, no mention of an English Bible class has been discovered. In that for 1856, it is said, p. 14,—"Mr. White has conducted, on Friday evenings, a weekly Bible class, generally attended by ten or twelve young men, students, or writers of the public offices." In the Report for 1857, p. 15, the attendants at this class are spoken of as "students and young men in offices." The Report for 1858 says, p. 19,—"Bible meetings, open to the same classes of the community, [the youth of all the public and private seminaries of Bombay, and others,] have constantly been held on two or sometimes three days of the week." In all these notices of the Bible class, there is not a single word to imply even that sepoys were in attendance.

The word "sepoy" does not appear to occur even once throughout the whole of the four reports consulted. This is difficult to be accounted for, on the supposition that the very remarkable phenomenon of these men attending "in hundreds" is true; but it is easily explained by the fact that at any time for the last twenty-two years or so, the attendance of sepoys, when it did occur, at the schools or services of Dr. Wilson, was so meagre as scarcely to deserve, though it may formerly have obtained, special notice. Where, then, were the sepoys "who came in hundreds to attend his Bible class, and to receive instruction in the schools"? Nowhere, doubtless, save in the imagination of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

If these statements are doubted, the reports and schools are open to inspection; and the doubter may satisfy himself, by looking into both, and counting all the sepoys he may be able to discover: his fingers will suffice for the operation.

Commanding officers, adjutants, and, perhaps, other officers of the native regiments that have been quartered in Bombay any time during the last twenty-two years, will be able to form a correct opinion whether ever, during that time, their sepoys or those of the neighbouring regiments were, "in hundreds," anxious to acquire book-learning of any kind; and whether they were, "in hundreds," desirous of attending a Bible class. So remarkable a circumstance could not possibly remain unnoticed and unheard of by the European officers, however little the general public might know or care to know about the matter. Dr. Wilson, as well as his colleagues and assistants, will be eminently able to judge how far the statement is correct, that "the sepoys came in hundreds to attend his Bible class, and to receive instruction in the schools."

Justice to Dr. Wilson requires it to be distinctly stated, that he is not held responsible for the rash, fictitious statements put forth by the Earl of Shaftesbury.

CHAPTER V.

FICTIONS OF ANONYMOUS COMPILATIONS: "THE MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY"; "THE REVOLT IN INDIA";* "THE INDIAN MUTINY";† AND "NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN REVOLT."‡

XXXVII. "At the Cashmere Gate, the charred remains of a British soldier were found about a stake to which he had been tied."—*The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, pt. 2, p. 214.

THERE seems to be no one to vouch for the truth of this story. The work from which it is extracted is anonymous; and the authority on which the tale is given is not mentioned. Several anonymous writers, who describe what they saw at Delhi on the day of the assault, make no mention of these remains. Those gentlemen,§ too, who have so fully described in their works the events of that memorable day, are silent about these bodies. The officers and soldiers of column No. 3 had no time to pause, as they rushed through the Cashmere Gate, to inspect minutely the charred remains that were there scattered about. But one officer had abundant opportunities for this inspection. He says,—"Captain T——, seeing I was wounded, desired me * * * to stay and clear the Cashmere Gate. * * *. Several dead bodies of the enemy who had perished in the explosion were

* *The History of the Revolt in India.* W. & R. CHAMBERS. 1859.

† This book has two titles: on the back,—"*The Mutiny in India to the Relief of Lucknow*"; on the title-page,—"*The Indian Mutiny to the Re-capture of Lucknow.* By a former Editor of the *Delhi Gazette.* 3rd edition. G. Routledge & Co. 1858.

‡ *Narrative of the Indian Revolt from its Outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell.* Illustrated with nearly two hundred engravings from authentic sketches. London: George Vickers, Angel Court, Strand. 1858.

§ See Greathed, Rotton, Bourchier, Medley, Hodson, and Norman.

lying there, scorched and smouldering,—a horrible sight."* He says not a word about the British soldier's remains; a circumstance difficult to account for, on the supposition that they had there an existence. It is just possible that some of the soldiers, in hurrying through the gateway, may have caught sight of the scorched and smouldering remains of a sepoy, and mistaken them for those of a European whose skin it was supposed had been scorched and discoloured.

XXXVIII. "On the morning of the 15th, the Nana's best troops had gone out to stay our progress at Pandoo Nuddy; in the evening they came back baffled, beaten, savage. Defeated by our men, they resolved to work vengeance on our unarmed women. The Nana was nothing loth. He forthwith gave the order for an unreserved massacre. It was a congenial task for the fiends by whom he was surrounded. With every kind of weapon, from the bayonet to the butcher's knife, from the battle-axe to the club, they assaulted these English ladies: they cut off their breasts, they lopped off limbs, they beat them down with clubs, they trampled on them with their feet; their children they tossed upon bayonets; blood flowed like water, but they were not glutted, nor did they quit that building, till they were satisfied that not a living soul remained behind them. The bodies, yet warm, in some life not yet extinct, were dragged into a well hard by, limb separated from limb,—all were thrown in, in one commingled mass: the blood was left to sink into the floor, to remain a lasting memento of insatiable vengeance."—*The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, pt. 2, pp. 158, 159.

This picture, if we are to believe an eye-witness, whose account is given elsewhere, is inaccurate in some particulars, and overdrawn in others. It is inaccurate, in making Nana's soldiers the agents of the massacre, in making the agents take the initiative in proposing the slaughter, in stating that the massacre was congenial to the troops there assembled, and in making the bayonet, the club, and the battle-axe the instruments by which the massacre was effected. It is overdrawn, (perhaps the distinction between "inaccurate" and "overdrawn" does not conduce to clearness,) in the particulars of cutting off the women's breasts, beating them down with clubs, tossing the

* A Year's Campaigning in India, p. 111.

children on bayonets, and separating limb from limb. There is no evidence forthcoming to support any of these particulars. See a little further on the account of the musician Fitchett, who, it appears, was present outside of the slaughter-house while the butchery was going on.

XXXIX. "They [the European female captives at Cawnpore] were then destined to be given up to the sensual licence of the sepoys and sowars who had aided in their capture; but the heroic conduct of Sir Hugh Wheeler's daughter is said to have deterred the ruffians."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 139.

It seems doubtful that the generality of the female captives were ever destined for the purpose stated in this extract; for, "such was the loathsome condition into which, from long destitution and exposure, the fairest and youngest of our women had sunk, that not a sepoy would have polluted himself with their touch."* This seems sufficient to have deterred the ruffians, if they ever had the intention imputed to them.

XL. "Calcutta, weeks and even months afterwards, contained ladies who had escaped from various towns and stations, and who entered the Anglo-Indian capital in most deplorable condition; ears, noses, lips, tongues, hands, cut off; while others had suffered such monstrous and incredibly degrading barbarities, that they resolutely refused all identification, preferring to remain in nameless obscurity, rather than their humiliation should be known to their friends in England. Their children, in many instances, had their eyes gouged out, and their feet cut off."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 143.

"Every steamer that arrived [at Calcutta] from the upper provinces brought down crowds of helpless women and children, many of them without ears, or lips, or fingers, or nose."—*The Indian Mutiny*, pp. 163, 164.

It is a remarkable fact, that when the Earl of Shaftesbury was challenged to name a single living victim that had been mutilated by the insurgents, not one of the "many" Calcutta was said to contain could be found; not a single captain out of all

* The Story of Cawnpore, p. 212.

the commanders of the river steamers came forward to declare that his vessel had brought down such living victims; not one of the commanders of the Suez-going steamers could affirm that he had conveyed one such victim towards Europe; not one of the Calcutta editors found himself in a position to name the whereabouts in the Indian metropolis of any such cases; nor does it appear, from anything that has been made public, that the relief fund had ever on the Calcutta or even on the Bombay list of recipients, a single lady or child mutilated in the manner described in the foregoing quotations,—minus ears, nose, lips, tongue, hands, or fingers.

XLI. "Sending forward part of his troops therefore on the afternoon of the 17th [of July], he [General Havelock] found the enemy in a very strong position. Their force consisted of the insurgent 31st and 42nd Bengal infantry from Saugor, the 17th from Fyzabad, sepoys from various other regiments, troops of the cavalry regiments, and a portion of Nena Sahib's Mahrattas—about 4,000 men in all. The plain in front of Bithoor, diversified by thickets and villages, had two streams flowing through it, not fordable, and only to be crossed by two narrow bridges. The enemy held both bridges and defended them well. The stream prevented Havelock from turning the enemy's flanks, and when his [Havelock's] infantry assaulted the position, they were received with heavy rifle and musketry fire. After an hour of very severe struggle, he effected a crossing, drove them back, captured their guns, and chased them towards Sorajpore. He had no cavalry to maintain a pursuit—indeed the want of cavalry was felt sadly by him in every one of his battles. This contest cost the enemy about 250 men, the British about one-fifth of the number; in this last-named list was included only one officer, Captain Mackenzie of the 78th Highlanders, who was slightly wounded."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 253.

For a myth, the foregoing is as circumstantial as could be desired. Havelock marched into Cawnpore on the morning of the 17th of July, halted on the 18th, and went to Bithoor on the 19th. But he found no enemy there on that occasion, and returned to Cawnpore without striking a blow. He fought no battle at Bithoor until the 16th of August. The same error is briefly repeated in the next page of the work just referred to,

where it is said,—"Then came the battle of Futtehpoor on the 12th, that of Aong on the morning of the 14th, that of Pundoo Nuddee on the afternoon of the same day, that of Cawnpore on the 16th, and that of Bithoor on the 17th—five victories in six days." One victory too many, of course—that of the 17th. In p. 258, the same error is repeated in a new form—"Havelock laid his plan for a third visit to Bithoor on the 16th" of August. It should have been, *a second visit.* The truth seems to be, that this battle of the 16th of August has been made, by the compiler of *The Revolt in India*, to do duty for two engagements, the imaginary fight of the 17th of July being one. In both figure "the 31st and 42nd native infantry from Saugor, and the 17th from Fyzabad" (p. 258); and in both "Captain Mackenzie, of the Highlanders, was among those who received wounds" (p. 259).

XLII. "Among them [the Futtehghur fugitives] was a young lady, the daughter of some general. She addressed herself much to the Nena, and said, 'No king ever committed such oppression as you have, and in no religion is there any order to kill women and children. I do not know what has happened to you. Be well assured that by this slaughter the English will not become less; whoever may remain will have on eye upon you.' But the Nena paid no attention, and showed her no mercy; he ordered that she should be killed, and that they should fill her hands with powder and kill her by the explosion."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 134.

Immediately before this passage, it is stated by the narrator that "The troopers seized them all and took them to the Nena, who ordered that they should all be killed; and sundry Rampoorie troopers of the Mussulmans of the 2nd cavalry, whom the Nena kept with him for the express purpose, killed them all." This shows that the writer was not an eye-witness of what he attempts to describe, and to embellish after his own fashion. According to eye-witnesses, the fugitives were made prisoners by "a large number of sepoys,"* not sowars†; the prisoners, on arrival at Cawnpore, were placed under a "sepoy

* Infantry. † Cavalry.

guard"; and it was "the sepoys" that "fired a volley into them with their muskets, which killed many of them."* If, then, our chronicler is wrong in these particulars, it is possible that he may be equally so with reference to the implied mode of the young lady's destruction. But so little remarkable was the manner in which she met her death, that not one of the witnesses examined by Mr. Fullerton seems to have made special allusion to it. The omission is scarcely consistent with the truth of the account which consigns the victim to a fate so horrible; for it is well known that people with the ordinary mental culture of native domestic servants, such as Mr. Fullerton's informants, would make the most of such horrors; and there seems no good reason for supposing that this gentleman would have failed to mention them, if he had believed them to be credible. Mention of this peculiar barbarity has also been omitted by Nerput, Opium Gomastha, who was at that time in Cawnpore. He says,—"One young lady, daughter of a general, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children, told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe—she was then murdered."† It is highly probable, then, that filling the young lady's hands with powder &c. is an unwarranted amplification.

XLIII. "In another version, she [Miss Wheeler] shot down five sepoys in succession, with a revolver, and then threw herself into a well to escape outrage; in a third, given by Mr. Shepherd, this English lady, being taken away by a trooper of the 2nd native cavalry to his own hut, rose in the night, secured the trooper's sword, killed him and three other men, and then threw herself into a well; while a fourth version, on the authority of the ayah, represents the general's daughter as cutting off the heads of no less than five men in the trooper's hut. These accounts, incompatible one with another, nevertheless reveal to us the true soldier's daughter, an English gentlewoman, resolved to proceed to any extremity, in defence of her own purity."—*The Revolt in India*, pp. 139, 140.

There is, perhaps, about as much truth in all these versions

* R. S. Fullerton, in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1858. † Diary.

as there is in the following:—"One Portuguese woman, the daughter of a bugler, was made captive by a trooper of the 2nd cavalry, and carried to his house, when the mutiny first broke out; but when he was absent, she took his sword, and killed his wife and two children, and then herself."—(*Calcutta Englishman*, 28th July, 1857.*) Miss Wheeler did not die, as is stated in some of the versions quoted above. An Eurasian named Fitchett, who had been a musician in the band of one of the native regiments at Cawnpore at the time the rebellion broke out there, and who saved his own life by embracing the Mahomedan creed, declared subsequently, on examination at Meerut, that "he frequently saw Miss Wheeler, the daughter of the General, at Futtehghur, and that she travelled with a sowar who had taken her from Cawnpore,—nay, more, that he was shown into the room where she was, and ordered to read extracts from English newspapers which the rebels received from Calcutta, he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which—particularly that relating to the progress of the war in China—they took great interest. She had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the sowar had procured for her, and she rode close beside him, with her face veiled, along the line of march. When the British approached Futtehghur [in 1858], orders were sent to the sowar to give Miss Wheeler up, but he escaped with her at night."—*Russel.*

XLIV. "Then the poor females were ordered to come out; but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so closely that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and, after firing a great many shots through the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 142.

This passage refers to the massacre of women and children at Cawnpore on the 16th of July 1857. The manner in which the

* Communicated by "one who was present throughout the affair," according to his own account.

massacre is here described to have been carried out is improbable. There is no reason why "the troopers" should have preferred the comparatively heavy infantry "musket" to their own light weapon, the pistol or the carbine; nor does it appear why "troopers," who are accustomed to the use of the sword, should have rushed into the building with "bayonets"; and, further, it is difficult to see why infantry should have been utterly excluded from a scene in which the musket and bayonet are made to play a part so conspicuous. These difficulties admit of a simple solution, in the supposition that the writer of the narrative was not an eye-witness of what he relates, and that his knowledge of military matters was so defective that he could not distinguish a trooper from a foot soldier. If the massacre at Cawnpore had been testified to by no better a witness than he who communicated this account to the press, people might have been excused if they had altogether disbelieved the story. But there is superior testimony. Without entering into the whole of this, it will be sufficient to produce an eye-witness whose evidence will correct the inaccuracies contained in the extract which has called forth these remarks.

The person named Fitchett, already mentioned, who was present outside of the slaughter-house at Cawnpore, on the occasion of the massacre of the women and children on the 15th of July, says:—"There was some difficulty about getting instruments for this horrible butchery. The Sowars [troopers] wished to save themselves from the defilement of blood—the Infantry were equally averse to the task—but at last some soldiers of the 6th Native Infantry were compelled to go inside, with orders to fire on the poor, helpless crowd. They fired in the air, or did so little harm, that it was evident the views of the assassins could not be accomplished in that manner. They sent into the town, therefore, and the Sowars brought out two of the common butchers of the bazaar—two Bhooreeas, men of a wild miserable gipsy-like caste, and a Vilaiytee [native of the West], who were armed with hatchets and tulwars [swords], and ordered to go in and kill every soul in the house and enclosure, while all egress was strictly watched

by the Sowars outside. It was a long and dreadful butchery. * * * The assassins entered the enclosure about 5.30 P. M., and * * * it was 10 P. M. before they came out to announce that their work was accomplished. Once * * * a butcher appeared with his sword broken in two, received a sabre from one of the Sowars, and returned to continue his hellish labor."*

XLV. "At one part of Delhi, the conquerors (if the narrators are to be believed) found Christian women *crucified* against the walls in the streets."—*The Revolt in India*, p. 311.

This story seems, to say the least of it, to be an exaggeration. Serjeant John Jones, Mess Serjeant of the 2nd Bengal fusiliers, and Mary his wife, say, in a letter addressed to his parents, and published in the *Times* in April 1858,—"After we stormed and entered Delhi, we saw a poor woman crucified naked, and nailed up in the same manner as our Lord and Saviour is represented." This statement reduces the crucifixions to one; and it is believed to be the only statement of the alleged fact authenticated by the name of the writer or writers. It must not, however, be supposed that these writers were both eye-witnesses of what they state; for the European soldiers at Delhi had not their wives with them there. Nor is it certain that the serjeant saw what is described in this passage; because, although he for the most part writes in the singular number, he here adopts the plural. If he had said "I saw" &c., which he might have done without violating grammar, there would have been grounds for the belief that he was an eye-witness. As is elsewhere stated, "we" in the mouth of a soldier may mean our section, our subdivision, our company, our detachment, our corps, our brigade, our division, or our army, with or without including the narrator. He might have heard the story from others, without witnessing the alleged phenomenon himself.

The narrative of the crucifixion, though it would have been

* The Special Correspondent of the *Times*.

out of place in a military despatch, and would, therefore, be omitted by all the despatch writers, might have been given with perfect consistency and propriety by any or all of those who were present and who have written books concerning the assault on Delhi and the capture of the city; yet Major Norman, Chaplain Rotton, Commissioner Greathed, Colonel Bourchier, Captain Medley, and Major Hodson, do not so much as hint at a woman or at women having been found crucified; and the same may be said of nearly the whole of the anonymous correspondents of the Indian newspapers. It will not suffice to answer this objection by suggesting that all the writers named might have been cognisant of the fact, but that they omitted to notice it from indifference, or from the fear of degrading their narratives to mere chronicles of the horrible and disgusting. Neither these nor any other fears would, it is certain, have deterred either Colonel Bourchier or Major Hodson from mentioning the matter, had it been believed by them; for the former did not consider it derogatory to his pages to record in them that, as Greathed's column "entered Koorjah, a skeleton was stuck up on the roadside, exposed to public gaze, against a wall. The head had been severed from the body, and cuts in the shin bones were apparent, inflicted by some sharp instrument; and, in the opinion of a medical committee, the skeleton was that of a European female";*—and the latter did not consider it beneath him to write, in a letter dated June 1st, 1857,—"I hope ere night to capture some of the rascals who stripped and ill-treated two ladies near this the other day, on their flight to the hills."† It should also be borne in mind, that if any one European about Delhi could have known anything regarding the alleged crucifixion or crucifixions, that man was most likely to be Hodson, who was at the head of the intelligence department at the time referred to.

Perhaps it would be fruitless to attempt to carry this proof of a negative further, than to reply to one objection that may be thought of weight sufficient to upset all that has been

* Eight Months' Campaign, p. 91.

† Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, p. 194.

said against the probability of the crucifixions—"Do you mean to say that the accounts had no foundation whatever?" The answer to this might be—"By no means. The blue-devils, which resulted from the drinking-bout in Delhi on the 14th and 15th of September 1857, would afford a foundation quite broad enough for any number of such fictions."

XLVI. "One whole family, consisting of three generations, were burned alive."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 83.

"They burnt one whole family, from grandfather to grandchildren, alive."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 67.

The newspaper account* makes the patronymic of this family "Archer." In a "list of arrivals in Calcutta from the Upper Provinces" during part of June and July 1857, published in the *Evening Mail* of the 7th September 1857, the following names are given:—

"PER THE 'KALIE.'

"* * * Mr. Archer and family.

* * * * * * *

PER TROOP-BOAT 'SOORMA,' ARRIVED JULY 5.

"From Allahabad.— * * * Mrs. Archer and three children."

This corroborates the following statement, contained in a letter dated 26th June 1857, from Allahabad:—"Miss Fulow and Mrs. Archer's family had a miraculous escape, and left some time back by steamer for Calcutta; but Messrs. Henry Archer and Fulow, I regret to say, were slaughtered."

XLVII. "One of their [the mutineers'] first acts was to plunder the bank, and murder Mr. Berresford, manager, with his wife and five children, whose throats they slowly severed with broken glass."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 15.

Mrs. Aldwell, who escaped from the massacre of the forty-

* This I have mislaid.—*E. L.*

eight females on the 16th of May 1857, and who finally made her escape, with her children, from the city of Delhi, during the siege, mentions, amongst the names that she remembered of those who were slaughtered on that day, the name of "Miss E. Berresford."* These victims all fell by either the sword or the musket, not by broken glass. With regard to the fate of the remainder of the family, there is the testimony of an eye-witness. Gulab, one of the witnesses in the trial of the king of Delhi, said,—"I was witness to the murder of Mr. Berresford and his family. When the bank was attacked by the mutineers and the rabble, Mr. Berresford and his family retired to one of the out-offices for concealment, and, when discovered, were on the roof of the building. Mr. Berresford was armed with a sword, and Mrs. Berresford had a spear. The mutineers, being afraid to approach then by the staircase in front, two of the rabble suggested that they should go round and scale the wall in the rear of the house. Mrs. Berresford struck one of the assailants with a spear, and killed him; they were, however, overpowered and all killed. I do not know what number of persons were killed at the bank; but there were several. This occurred on the day of the outbreak, at about twelve o'clock."† In all this there is nothing that would suggest that broken glass had been employed in slaughtering the Berresfords. Besides, the thing looks extremely improbable.

XLVIII. "It was stated by a native, that when Lieutenant Sanders, of her Majesty's 84th, was brought before Nana Sahib, he [Sanders] pulled out his revolver and shot dead five of the guards. With his sixth round he missed the rajah, and was immediately seized and overpowered. He was nailed to the ground, and his nose, ears, fingers, and toes were chopped off. Next day the work of mutilation was continued, until death released him from his unutterable agony."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 148.

This account is intensely horrifying. The death of the officer is made appear to be the result of a slow process of mutilation,

* *Mofussilite*, 16th Feb. 1858.—See also "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 92.

† "East India [King of Delhi], p. 88.

which occupied a part of two days at least. The story is told in a less horrifying way by a corporal of the regiment to which the deceased officer belonged:—"The following is an extract of a letter from David Tracey Lane, Corporal H. M. 84th, to a comrade in Dum-Dum:—'Sanders [*i. e.* Lieutenant Sanders, H. M.'s 84th] was brought before the Rajah Nana Saheb. He [Sanders] pulled out his revolver, shot dead five of the guard, and missed the rajah with the sixth round; then they crucified him to the ground: the whole of the cavalry charged past him, and every one of them had a cut at him; he was cut to pieces by the whole them.'" From the sameness of a portion of each of these narratives, it may be surmised, as possible, that the compiler of *The Indian Mutiny* has taken a few liberties with the corporal's story, and made that worse which was in itself bad enough. Of course, the corporal had his information from a native, the only possible witness.

In the account said to have been furnished to the *Illustrated London News*, by the father of the deceased, an attempt seems to have been made to reconcile the two narratives:—"Upon getting near the Nana, he dashed forward through the guards by whom he was surrounded, shooting down five of them with his revolver, and firing the sixth round at the Nana, but unfortunately without effect. A few minutes later, and he was stretched upon the ground and crucified; his nose, ears, hands, and feet, were cut off; a body of cavalry then charged over him, each man of which cut at him as he passed, until he was literally hewed into pieces." If the charging of the cavalry over the body, each man cutting at it as he passed, be admitted, it will be sufficient to account for the mutilations and the death of the sufferer; but will be quite incompatible with that part of the story of *The Indian Mutiny* which postpones the death of Sanders, and carries over the mutilations of his living body until the next day. Whether the narrative furnished by the corporal be true or false, it certainly has the advantage over the other stories of being more true to nature. Prompt vengeance for the slaughter of five of their comrades before their own eyes is more natural to enraged men, than the coolness implied

in the slower mode—of mutilation—described in *The Indian Mutiny.*

XLIX. "There he [Ensign Cheek] found another prisoner, a Christian catechist, formerly a Mahomedan, whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out, 'Oh! my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus.' Just at this moment, the alarm of a sudden attack by the gallant Colonel Neill with his Madras Fusiliers caused the instant flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned to bless the boy, whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit; but the young martyr had passed beyond all reach of human cruelty—he had entered into rest."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 86.

The Rev. Gopinath Nundy, the "Christian catechist" referred to above, has furnished the public with an account of his escape,* from which the following particulars are extracted:—"The next day, Ensign Cheek, an officer of the late 6th N. I., was brought in a prisoner. * * * Finding me so kindly disposed to poor Cheek, the Darogah † fastened my feet in the stocks, and thus caused a separation not only from him, but also from my family. While this was going on, a large body of armed men fell upon me, holding forth the promise of immediate release if I became a Muhammadan. At that time, Ensign Cheek cried with a loud voice, and said, 'Padri, Padri, be firm; do not give way!' * * * The third day, the day appointed for our final execution, now came. * * * On the sixth day, the Maulavie himself came over into the prison. * * * The same day, the European and Seikh soldiers came out under Major Brazyer, and, after a desperate fight, completely routed the enemy. * * * Ensign Cheek died the same day, after reaching the fort."

If the Rev. Gopinath Nundy is to be believed, the narrative in *The Indian Mutiny* must be regarded as inaccurate in many

* "See *Gnyandipak*, 1st June, 1858, published at Surat."

† Corresponding to the English "constable."

particulars. Unless the reverend convert, at the time of his baptism, renounced his Mahomedan name, and adopted in its stead some of the mythological names of the Hindoos,* which it is highly improbable that his sponsors would allow, the assertion that he was "formerly a Mahomedan" is clearly erroneous.

"The sepoys" too are introduced, and this after they had marched out of the station.

Regarding the affirmation that "the firmness of the native was giving way," it may be remarked, that one peculiar and extraordinary characteristic of Gopinath Nundy's narrative of his escape is, that it never under any circumstances exhibits his firmness as in the most remote degree inclined to "giving way," even for a moment; that is to say, his firmness *in the faith*, which it is presumed is the meaning of *The Indian Mutiny*.

"He knelt amid his persecutors," while he was in the stocks!

The injunction of poor Cheek, as given in *The Indian Mutiny*, differs materially from that recorded by Gopinath Nundy:—

The Indian Mutiny.	*Gopinath Nundy.*
"Oh! my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!"	"Padri, Padri, be firm, do not give way!"

"Just at this moment," *The Indian Mutiny* causes the "murderous fanatics" to be routed "by the gallant Colonel Neill with his Madras Fusiliers"; while Gopinath Nundy causes the same thing to be done, four days after, by "the European and Seikh soldiers * * * under Major Brazyer."

Lastly, according to *The Indian Mutiny*,—"Just at this moment," when the ensign had concluded his injunction, the deliverers entered, put the enemy to flight, and saved the catechist; who, turning "to bless the boy," found that "he had entered into rest." Both time and place have been disregarded here; the youth has been made to die four days too early, and in the prison-house instead of in the fort. In dramatic effect, *The Indian Mutiny* excels Gopinath. From other sources, it is shown that poor Cheek was removed into the fort before he

* "Gopinath" means *preserver*, or *keeper of the female cowherds*, and is a name of *Krishna*. "Nundy" means *the bull on which "Muhadewu" rides*.

died. A correspondent of the *Calcutta Englishman*, writing on the 16th of June 1857, from the fort of Allahabad, says of the ensign,—he "came in to-day. He had been kept by a zemindar, a known scoundrel, who starved him. He is rapidly sinking, poor fellow, from exhaustion." Lieutenant Colonel Neill, in a letter dated 17th June 1857,* writes,—"Our two guns * * * were sent in to our outposts yesterday morning; also Mr. Cheek, of the 6th, since dead."

The following affecting account of the treatment received by poor Cheek at the hands of the rebels is taken from the *Bombay Standard* of the 15th of May 1858:—Ensign Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek, doing duty with the 6th N. I., by some means escaped in the confusion, during the massacre of his brother officers, and, being ignorant of the country, fled in a direction opposite to the fort, until he reached the Ganges, above Papemow landing-place. The river was then very low, and the flats, as usual at that season, were covered with the tall barley jungle. Here, he succeeded in concealing himself for several days, until, worn out by famine, and the great heat of a June sun, he approached a Mussulman village, the head man of which was then playing a double game with the skill of a master. As soon as he got Cheek into his power, he determined upon sending him a prisoner to the Moulvie, who then held the city, to prove that still he [the head man of the village] was faithful to the Mahomedan religion. For several days he kept his prisoner in a little stifling hut, close to his house, scarcely large enough for a well grown calf, fed him once a day with a little milk and a couple of black wheaten cakes, and at length put him into a dooly, and delivered him up to the Moulvie at a garden near the railway station. How he had been treated, his appearance when the place was retaken was quite sufficient to tell. Absolutely, from his head to his heels, he was one mass of wounds and bruises, from the strokes of bludgeons and the heavy heels of native shoes, with which he had been repeatedly beaten. In several places the flesh had sloughed off his bones, so as to show the articulation of the joints. His mind was com-

* To the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army.

pletely gone. Upon being brought into the fort, he rallied a little, and gave the foregoing account to his attendant.

L. "They [the sepoys at Delhi] took forty-eight females, most of them girls of from ten to fourteen, many delicately nurtured ladies, violated them, and kept them for the base purposes of the heads of the insurrection for a whole week. At the end of that time, they made them strip themselves, and gave them up to the lowest of the people, to abuse in broad day-light in the streets of Delhi. They then commenced the work of torturing them to death, cutting off their breasts, fingers, and noses, and leaving them to die. One lady was three days dying. They flayed the face of another lady, and made her walk naked through the street."—*The Indian Mutiny*, p. 40.

Probably the only grain of truth in all this is the number and character of the victims, the proximate duration of their imprisonment, and their having been killed. Were it not for the number, which appears to be very near the correct one, great difficulty might have been experienced in guessing what the real circumstances of the case were. It must not be lost sight of, that after deducting the number of ladies that escaped from Delhi, and this number,—forty-eight,—from the total European female population of that city at the time of the outbreak, some difficulty would be experienced in mustering forty-eight more. The foregoing hideous narrative appeared in some English newspapers, on the authority of a letter from a clergyman at Bangalore. Considering the distance of Bangalore from Delhi, it needs not appear strange if those readers who have any knowledge of the geography of India should be slow to accept the testimony of a witness in Bangalore as to facts and events relating immediately to Delhi. As the clergyman's name is not given, it is of little consequence to inquire whether he invented the story, adopted it from mere rumour, or became possessed of it through an anonymous letter from "an officer of rank"; in either case, the story would carry with it about the same amount of credibility.

But there is extant another story, infinitely less obscene, also relating to the same number of victims; and which, unless the

probability of a plurality of forty-eights is assumed, must be supposed to refer to the same victims. It is as follows:—"Several Europeans [said to number forty-eight] were taken to the palace, or perhaps went there for protection. These were taken care of by the king of Delhi; but the troopers of the 3rd cavalry, whose thirst for European blood had not been quenched, rested not till they were all given up to them, when they murdered them one by one in cool blood."—(*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.) Except that the troopers of the 3rd cavalry are brought too prominently forward in this transaction, the narrative of the cold-blooded massacre is, on the whole, as true as the best procurable testimony can make it.

Mrs. Aldwell, a Christian, who assumed a Mussulman disguise, but who was nevertheless confined, with a number of European prisoners, in a dungeon under the palace, stated, in her evidence at the trial of the king of Delhi:—"As far as I can guess, I should say, men, women, and children included, there were from 46 to 50 persons imprisoned. * * * We were all confined in one room, very dark, with only one door, and no window or other opening. * * * We were very much crowded together, and in consequence of the sepoys, and every one who took a fancy to do so, coming and frightening the children, we were obliged frequently to close the one door that we had. * * * The sepoys used to come with their muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, and ask us whether we would consent to become Mahomedans, and also slaves, if the king granted us our lives; but the king's special armed retainers, from which the guard over us was always furnished, incited the sepoys to be content with nothing short of our lives, saying we should be cut up in small pieces, and given as food to the kites and crows. On Thursday, some of the sepoys came and told the ladies that they intended to kill us all by mining and blowing up the palace. We were very indifferently fed; but on two occasions the king sent us better food. * * * On Saturday, the 16th of May, the whole party of the Europeans, with exception of myself, three children, and an old native Mahomedan woman, who had been confined with us for giving

food and water to some Christians, were taken out. * * * The women and children began crying, saying they knew they were going to be murdered; but the Mahomedans swore on the Koran, and the Hindoos on the Jumna, that such was not the case; that they wanted to give them a better residence. * * * A rope was thrown round to encircle the whole group, the same as prisoners are usually kept together when on the move; and in this manner they were taken out of my sight." *

The next witness, *Chuni*, a news-writer, brings us to the scene of the slaughter:—"One morning, about five or six days after the outbreak on the 11th of May, I heard at my house that there was a great disturbance going on in the palace. * * * I had reached the new palace, when I saw the king's personal armed attendants, and some of the mutinous soldiery, were slaying the Europeans. It was about half-past nine or ten o'clock. * * * After the slaughter had been completed, and the crowd dispersed, when orders came from the king to remove the bodies, and they were being laden on carts, I went and asked the sweepers employed, and learnt from them that 52 people had been killed. * * * Only five or six" corpses of men were among the number; "the rest were women and children." †

One *Gulab*, a messenger, deposes as follows:—"On the day fixed for the slaughter arriving, great crowds of people were flocking to the palace at about 10 A. M. I entered with them. On reaching the first court-yard, I saw the prisoners all standing together, surrounded on all sides by the king's special armed retainers, or what you may term his body-guard, and some of the infantry mutineers. * * * On a sudden, the men just mentioned drew their swords, and all simultaneously attacked the prisoners, and continued cutting at them till they had killed them all. There were at least 100 or 150 men employed in this work of slaughter. * * * The great portion of the prisoners were children." ‡

The last witness further states that the intention to murder

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 92, 93.
† Ibid, pp. 85, 86. ‡ Ibid, pp. 87, 88.

the Europeans was known "two days before the occurrence"; and people spoke about it, saying,—'The prisoners are to be killed the day after tomorrow.'"* From this fact it may be inferred that the object with which the prisoners were kept five days was not the filthy one implied in the obscene fiction to which these remarks refer; and it seems very probable that the victims would not have been kept alive so long, had there not been some difficulty and delay in obtaining the king's sanction to the slaughter. Whether he ever gave his consent or no, does not alter the cause of delay; the time may have been fixed by the princes without the privity of the king; and they may have determined upon declaring in like manner, on the day appointed, that his assent had been received, even though it had been withheld. Blood seems to have been most desired by the mutineers and rebels; and the result of this aspiration would appear to have been a comparatively speedy release of the sufferers from the hands of their oppressors, and from all pain and anxiety. It is a consolation to find that there is not a single particle of evidence to countenance the obscenity and minute barbarity with which the fable abounds; also, that there was no other sufficiently numerous party of Europeans at that time in Delhi to admit of the supposition that the alleged outrages could have been perpetrated on another similar number of Europeans.

LI. "One unhappy girl, only recently a bride, was at Delhi with her husband, an infantry officer, when the outbreak took place. The mutinous soldiers carried her before one of the braggart villains in command, who caused her to be stripped naked and whipped with bamboos until she sank senseless to the ground. She was then indecently as well as inhumanly mutilated, and afterwards, by order of the leading ruffian, stamped to death."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.

All the wives of the infantry officers at Delhi at the time of the outbreak escaped. The most of them lived in cantonments, outside of the city; and the few that were inside contrived to get away alive.

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 87.

LII. " Pressed by want of food and fuel, and reduced to the last extremity, a sortie was made on the 2nd of June, in the direction of the enemy's camp. Their advanced guard was taken by surprise and utterly routed, after two hours' desperate fighting. A considerable quantity of provisions fell into the hands of our troops. This operation was conducted in person by Sir Henry Lawrence, at the head of 200 Europeans, chiefly Her Majesty's 32nd foot ; but it is said that it was made against his better judgment, and at the entreaties of some of the civilians who were with him in the fort. Returning from the scene of action flushed with success, and bearing the proceeds of their hard fight for the relief of the poor sufferers in the fort, just as our troops reached the town, the native artillery who accompanied the expedition suddenly wheeled round and opened a deadly fire from the guns on the unfortunate 32nd, and before they were able to recover themselves and face their assailants, upwards of sixty men, rank and file, were killed, and several of our best officers severely wounded— among the officers the gallant general, who was severely cut in the leg by the splinter of a shell, and died on the 4th (two days after) of lock-jaw induced by the wound."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 101.

The reader who remembers the story of Lucknow will scarcely be prepared for the announcement that the foregoing is intended for an account of the battle of Chinhut; and that it is taken, by the compiler of the *Narrative*, from a letter which appeared in the *Evening Mail*, professing to come from a civilian in " Michee Bhaun Fort," and bearing date July 6, 1857. The compiler has not done justice to the civilian as to dates, the former making the date of the alleged sortie " the 2nd of June," while the latter made it " the 2nd inst." or the 2nd of July; the death of Sir Henry Lawrence is said by the civilian to have taken place " this day at 4 o'clock," the 6th of July; while the compiler refers the decease to " the 4th (two days after)" the 2nd of June. But they are both wrong in dates, as well as in other respects.

The garrison was not pressed by want of food and fuel, as Sir Henry had taken precautions to lay in large supplies of provisions and fuel. The " sortie" was no sortie, but an attempt to meet and oppose the enemy with a strong force, before he entered the suburbs of the city of Lucknow. The date of the advance was neither the 2nd of June nor the 2nd of July, the 30th of June being the correct date. The enemy's advance guard being

routed, and the provisions falling into the hands of our troops, are fictions. The force of Sir Henry Lawrence did not consist of 200 Europeans, but of—

H. M. 32nd foot	150	men.
13th N. I.	130	„
Seikhs of the 13th N. I.	40	„
48th N. I.	50	„
European volunteer cavalry	36	„
Oude irregular cavalry	90	„
Total..	496	men.

Kaye's battery of European artillery	4	guns.
Alexander's native artillery	2	„
Bryce's „ „	2	„
Eight-inch howitzer	1	„
Total pieces of ordnance..	9	

The native gunners did not wheel round and open fire on the 32nd. Sir Henry Lawrence was not cut in the leg by the splinter of a shell during this engagement; he received his wound two days later, in the Residency. He did not die two days after the battle of Chinhut, but four days afterwards; not on the 4th of June, but on the 4th of July.

*The Revolt in India** also inaccurately makes the number of the British force "about seven hundred men and eleven guns."

LIII. "A man who had witnessed that last massacre in Delhi, where he had gone as a spy, gives a horrid account of it, stating that little children were thrown up in the air and caught on the points of bayonets, or cut at as they were falling, with tulwars" (swords).—Letter from an Officer before Delhi, in *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.

"Terrible were the deeds recorded [at Allahabad] * * * children tossed on bayonets before their mothers' eyes."—*The Revolt in India*, pp. 158, 159.

* Page 164.

This story has gone from mouth to mouth, in India and in England; it has also got into pictures in both countries, no matter whether the pictures refer to Delhi or Cawnpore; nay more, it has made its appearance in one of Bentley's fictions,* in which a *trooper* is made to toss up a child, and catch it, as it falls, on the point of *his* bayonet! But it is a truth, that up to this day, not a single witness to the alleged fact has attested it with his name. In the *Narrative* quoted above, the barbarity is said to have been witnessed by a man who saw "the last massacre in Delhi." That massacre took place on the 16th of May 1857, as elsewhere shown. Several eye-witnesses, who were called on the trial of the king of Delhi, spoke of that massacre; but none of them uttered a word about children being tossed on bayonets. Musket shots and sword-cuts are mentioned, especially the latter; and it is remarkable, that no perceptible attempt is made by any of the witnesses to soften the atrocities with respect to infants; all, to the number of about 52, including men, women, and children, were testified to have been either butchered or shot. Such was "the last massacre in Delhi"; and if he who is alleged to have witnessed the atrocity of tossing up children on the points of bayonets had been "a spy" in the service of the British, and one whose testimony could have been depended upon, nothing is more certain than that the alleged bayonet tossing would have been established in evidence.

One fact, however, there is, which, although the name of the native witness is withheld, has never been disputed. It was furnished in writing by the narrator to Mr. Farrington, deputy commissioner, two or three weeks after the outbreak:—"One woman entreated to give her child water, though they might kill her. A sepoy took her child, and dashed it on the ground." As this fact is respectably vouched for, though only at second hand, and as there is some distant resemblance in it to the bayonet *tossing* story, which is vouched for by no known witness, even at second hand, it is with due deference suggested

* "Second Sight," I think, was the title.—*E. L.*

as possible, that the respectably vouched fact may have been the basis of the otherwise utterly unsupported fiction. In both cases, the alleged agents are declared to have been sepoys.

LIV. "Women and children came down [to Calcutta] by the steamers; many picked up on the banks of the river with hardly a rag to cover them. The arrival of one girl of nineteen made a great sensation. She was sitting in her house with her father, a man of from fifty to sixty years of age. Some Mahomedans came in, and told her they had come to kill her father, whom they at once cut to pieces before her eyes, and then slaughtered her brother, a boy of nine years. They stripped her, and she was abused by several. She eventually made her escape, and was fifteen days in the jungle, living on herbs. Some Hindoo found her, took her to his hut, and gave her a chuddee, or native cloth, to wrap her in, and took her to the water side, where she was picked up by one of the steamers. But by that time she was insane."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 68.

This very suspicious story is placed before the public, apparently on the assumption that once in print, the horrible nature of its details is such as to command belief without inquiry. The only clue to inquiry is furnished by the three words *Calcutta*, *steamer*, and *river*. On what river the girl was picked up, by what steamer she was brought down to Calcutta, who commanded the steamer when the insane girl was picked up, and how she was disposed of on arrival at the City of Palaces, are particulars which, had the tale been true, could easily have been supplied by the party who furnished the story to the press. The suppression of these clues to inquiry is the course that would have been adopted by one who, conscious of having fabricated the story, was anxious to escape detection; and, therefore, until these particulars are furnished, the public will be justified in refusing credence to the account. It will be of no avail to set up the hacknied assertion that the story must be true, seeing that it was published on the spot, and remained uncontradicted: the same might be said of any of the thousand and one palpable fictions which passed uncontradicted at the time of excitement in which they were published. Weak minds never inquire, but yield implicit credence, to stories which so much affect their

feelings; while strong minds are unwilling to encounter the odium which must fall to the lot of those who in such times undertake the thankless task of correcting popular opinion—the task of casting "pearls before swine."

But, granting that a girl, wrapped in a sheet, was picked up on the banks of the river So-and-so, by Captain So-and-so, of the steamer "So-and-so," and that the girl was insane; what then? Why, simply this: the remainder of the details have no authority save that of the girl herself; and they must be regarded as the mere ravings of a maniac. Taking this view of the case, there is in the story one particular which, it must be admitted, is quite consistent: no girl of nineteen, who was not insane, would inform Captain So-and-so, or the passengers on board of the steamer "So-and-so," that she had been "abused by several." Barring this, however, the story seems incredible.

LV. "Six [ladies] were discovered in a single room. One, youthful and lovely, hid herself under a couch; but when the blood from the decapitated bodies of her five companions ran to her in a stream, she shrieked aloud, and so was discovered. She was dragged forth, and conducted to the palace of the phantom King of Delhi." —*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.

There were not six ladies. There were two, Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford; and four gentlemen, Mr. S. Fraser, Captain Douglas, the Rev. Mr. Jennings, and Mr. Hutchinson. It does not appear that they were all in one room; though they were all in or close to Captain Douglas's apartments at the time of the murders. The account said to have been given by a table-servant of the Jenningses was to the effect that the two young ladies were in the breakfast-room at the time the murderers approached. Miss Clifford concealed herself under a couch; but she, unable to contain herself when she saw the blood flowing from the wounds of her butchered companion, screamed, and attracted the attention of the fiends, who then drew her from her hiding-place and slaughtered her.

LVI. "Two ladies, both young, and described as 'very pretty,' were seized at Delhi, stripped naked, tied on a cart, taken to the Bazaar, and there violated. They died from the effects of the brutal treatment they received."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p. 21.

It is likely that these two ladies are the same as those whose names are mentioned in the last remarks. The reason for supposing this is, that what is stated in the present fiction to be the cause of death to both, is elsewhere affirmed to have been the cause of death to one. Towards the end of May 1857, a rumour to the following effect was current in Bombay:—Miss Jennings was stripped by the insurgents, who then danced round her for some time, insulting her with brutal words and gestures. Eighteen of the fiends then abused her, and thus exhausted her to death.—In or about the month of November 1857, an account, the same in substance as this, appeared in a Bombay newspaper, on the authority of a person writing under pseudonym from Umballa. The rumour was not confirmed in any of its circumstances (except that the young lady was killed) by any witness present at the trial of the king of Delhi, though more than one spoke to the fact of her having been murdered in Captain Douglas's quarters, within the precincts of the palace.

Two witnesses give the fact as mere hearsay. One of these, *Jat Mall*, formerly news-writer to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra, says,—"These people successively murdered Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson the collector, the Reverend Mr. Jennings, Miss Jennings, and Miss Clifford, all of whom were in Captain Douglas's apartments. * * * All these murders were committed in about a quarter of an hour. The details, as given here, I collected from Makhan, Bakhtawar, Pran, and Kishan, servants of the Government in attendance at the time on Captain Douglas."* Copies of newspapers written by one Chuni Lal, news-writer, from the 11th to the 20th of May 1857 (both dates inclusive) having been seized in his house, were found to contain the following entry:—"His [Mr. Fraser's] murderers

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," p. 73.

now rushed up to the apartments above, where they killed Captain Douglas, the Rev. Mr. Jennings, and his daughter."*

Two other witnesses, who were in the palace on the morning of the 11th of May 1857, also speak of the matter, but not as eye-witnesses of the murder. *Ahsan Ulla Khan*, the king's physician, says,—"We, with the king's permission, immediately sent the palanquins for the ladies, and also gave instructions about the guns; but shortly after this, information reached us that the cavalry had entered the palace enclosure by the Lahore gate, where Mr. Fraser wished the guns placed, and over which Captain Douglas had his residence: it was also told us that they had killed Mr. Fraser, and had gone up to Captain Douglas to kill him. This was instantly confirmed by the return of the palkee bearers, who told us that they had witnessed Mr. Fraser's murder, that his body was in the gateway, and that the troopers had ascended to the upper building for the purpose of murdering those there."† The upper building here mentioned means the quarters of Captain Douglas. *Ghulam Abbas*, the king's lawyer, states,—"After a short time, one of the servants who had gone for the palkees returned, and reported that they had been sent; and very soon after, the attendant who had been sent with the palkees returned, and said that Mr. Fraser had been killed. This was shortly before 10 o'clock. Ahsan Ulla Khan [the last witness] on this sent other men to see if the report was correct, and to get particulars of what was occurring, and to ascertain how and where Captain Douglas was. These men came back very soon after, and stated that not only Mr. Fraser, but Captain Douglas and the ladies, and the other Europeans residing with them, had all been killed."‡

The next two are eye-witnesses. *Bakhtawar Singh*, Chuprassee in the service of the Government, states,—"We servants who were sitting there [in Captain Douglas's quarters] saw some five Mahomedans, king's servants, coming along the covered way, calling out 'Din, din!' Just at this time Mr. Fraser happened to come down to the foot of the stairs, and these men

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 101, 102.
† Ibid, p. 89. ‡ Ibid, p. 27.

immediately attacked him and killed him with their swords. While this was happening on the north side of the gate, a mixed crowd, armed with swords, bludgeons, &c., ran up the stairs on the south side, and gained the apartments above, those assembled on the north side joining them there. By this time every one tried to make his own escape, and I did so with the rest."* *Makhan*, a mace-bearer of Captain Douglas, deposes as follows:—"Mr. Fraser remained below, trying to suppress the disturbance, and while thus engaged, I noticed that Haji, lapidary, cut him down with a tulwar, and almost at the same instant some of the king's servants cut at him with swords till he was dead. I was at the head of the stairs, and this was perpetrated at the foot of them. One of Mr. Fraser's murderers was an Abyssinian. After this, they made a rush to the upper apartments, when I immediately ran round by another door, and closed the door at the top of the stairs. I was engaged in shutting all the doors, when the crowd who had found entrance by the southern stair, having forced one of the doors on that side, came and gave admission to the men who had assisted in murdering Mr. Fraser. These immediately rushed into the apartments where the gentlemen, viz. Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Jennings had retired, and, attacking them with swords, at once murdered them and the two young ladies. On this I ran down the staircase. As I got to the bottom, I was laid hold of by one Mamdoh, a bearer in the service of the king, who said, 'Tell me where Captain Douglas is; you have concealed him.' He forced me upstairs with him. I said, 'You have yourselves killed all the gentlemen already'; but on reaching the room where Captain Douglas was, I saw that he was not quite dead. Mamdoh, perceiving this also, hit him with a bludgeon on the forehead, and killed him immediately. I saw the other bodies, including those of the two ladies. Mr. Hutchinson was lying in one room, and the bodies of Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, and the two young ladies, in another, on the floor, with the exception of that of Captain

* Blue Book, "East India [King of Delhi]," pp. 82, 83.

Douglas, which was on a bed. * * * All the murders were perpetrated within a quarter of an hour after Mr. Fraser's death, and it was now between nine and ten o'clock A. M."*

From all this evidence, there is nothing to countenance the circumstances related in the fictions; but, on the contrary, there is sufficient to show that they were simply impossible. Moreover, there was nothing elicited from the evidence of any witness examined during the trial of the ex-king of Delhi which could lead the imagination to conceive that any European lady or ladies had been treated as described in the fictions; but everything in the evidence went to show that the blood of Europeans was what the rebels and mutineers at Delhi were in quest of, and that they would not rest satisfied while they thought a European breathed within the precincts of the city, in its neighbourhood, or in any place to which the rebel power extended.

LVII. "In this place we may very properly introduce the following romantic story, told by M. de Banneroi, a French physician in India :—

" 'I give you the following account, says he, of the relief of Lucknow, as described by a lady, one of the rescued party :—"On every side death stared us in the face ; no human skill could avert it any longer. We saw the moment approach when we must bid farewell to earth, yet without that unutterable horror which must have been experienced by the unhappy victims at Cawnpore. We were resolved rather to die than to yield, and were fully persuaded that in twenty-four hours all would be over. The engineers had said so, and all knew the worst. We women strove to encourage each other, and to perform the light duties which had been assigned to us, such as conveying orders to the batteries, and supplying the men with provisions, especially cups of coffee, which we prepared day and night. I had gone out to try and make myself useful, in company with Jessie Brown, the wife of a corporal in my husband's regiment. Poor Jessie had been in a state of restless excitement all through the siege, and had fallen away visibly within the last few days. A constant fever consumed her, and her mind wandered occasionally, that day, when the recollections of home seemed powerfully present to her. At last, overcome with fatigue, she lay down on the ground, wrapped up in her plaid. I sat beside

* Blue Book, " East India [King of Delhi]," p. 79.

her, promising to awaken her when, as she said, 'her father should return from the ploughing.' She fell at length into a profound slumber, motionless, apparently breathless, her head resting in my lap. I myself could no longer resist the inclination to sleep, in spite of the continual roar of the cannon. Suddenly, I was aroused by a wild, unearthly scream, close to my ear: my companion stood upright before me, her arms raised, and her head bent forward, in the attitude of listening. A look of intense delight broke over her countenance: she grasped my hand, drew me towards her, and exclaimed,—'Dinna ye hear it?—dinna ye hear it?—Ay, I'm no dreamin'; its the slogan o' the Highlanders! We're saved, we're saved!' Then, flinging herself on her knees, she thanked God with passionate fervour. I felt utterly bewildered; my English ears heard only the roar of artillery, and I thought my poor Jessie was still raving; but she darted to the batteries, and I heard her cry incessantly to the men,—'Courage! courage! hark to the slogan—to the Macgregor, the grandest of them a'! Here's help at last!' To describe the effect of these words upon the soldiers would be impossible. For a moment they ceased firing, and every soul listened in intense anxiety. Gradually, however, there arose a murmur of bitter disappointment, and the wailing of the women who had flocked to the spot burst out anew as the Colonel shook his head. Our dull Lowland ears heard nothing but the rattle of the musketry. A few moments more of this deathlike suspense, of this agonising hope, and Jessie, who had again sunk on the ground, sprang to her feet, and cried, in a voice so clear and piercing that it was heard along the whole line,—'Will ye no believe it noo?—The slogan has ceased, indeed, but the Campbells are comin'! D'ye hear; d'ye hear?' At that moment we seemed indeed to hear the voice of God in the distance, when the pibroch of the Highlanders brought us tidings of deliverance; for now there was no longer any doubt of the fact. The shrill, penetrating, ceaseless sound, which rose above all other sounds, could come neither from the advance of the enemy, nor from the work of the Sappers. No, it was indeed the blast of Scottish bagpipes, now shrill and harsh, as threatening vengeance on the foe, then in softer tones seeming to promise succour to their friends in need. Never surely was there such a scene as that which followed. Not a heart in the Residency of Lucknow but bowed itself before God. All, by one simultaneous impulse, fell upon their knees, and nothing was heard but bursting sobs, and the murmured voice of prayer. Then all arose, and there rang out from a thousand lips a great shout of joy, which resounded far and wide, and lent new vigour to that blessed pibroch. To our cheer of 'God save the Queen,' they replied by the well-known strain that moves every Scot to tears, 'Should auld acquaintance be forgot?' &c. After that, nothing else made any impression on me. I scarcely remember what followed. Jessie was presented to the General on his entrance into the fort, and at the officers' banquet her health was drunk by all.

present, while the pipers marched round the table, playing once more the familiar air of 'Auld lang syne.'"'

"A soldier's trials are well repaid by such a scene as this."—*Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, pp. 187, 188.

Such a scene as this, if well got up, would doubtless produce an enormous effect on the stage of many of our provincial theatres. The chances are, however, that in most cases, the exhibition would suffer at the hands of either managers, actors, scene-painters, or property-men, on its being transferred to the stage. It cannot be denied that the author has performed his task well—so well, in fact, as almost to defy successful imitation; he must have had an intimate acquaintance with Scotch character, as it is sometimes exhibited in the Highlands, a clear perception of its minute peculiarities, and of the situation necessary to call them into active existence, a tenacious memory, a vigorous imagination, and a ready pen. Those who remember the effect the story produced on its appearance in the Bombay newspapers, will also remember the disappointment and regret which followed the announcement that the narrative was a mere fiction; and it is not without some portion of the latter feeling that the task of showing some of its incidents to be improbable has been undertaken.

The story has evidently been adopted as fact in the *Narrative of the Indian Revolt;* and there are some people so sceptical that they refuse to disbelieve a story which they have once seen in print: state your oral objection as clearly and truthfully as you can, and the only reply you will receive from them is,—"Is it not in a book? Do you mean to say that your mere words are to be taken against that which is printed?"—and with this they will, perhaps, open the book, and throw it before you with a mingled air of defiance and incredulity. If the story is accompanied by a picture, as in the volume quoted from, the chances against conviction are multiplied a hundred-fold. To attempt to convince such sceptics, by setting in array mere print against print and pictures, is to undertake an unequal combat; but it is hoped that the weight of truth will help in some measure the meagre print, and so ensure a decided victory.

The time is the 25th of September, the day on which Havelock's force reinforced the Lucknow garrison. The state of mind of the besieged is painted in colours of a tint altogether too sombre for the reality:—"On every side death stared us in the face; no human skill could avert it any longer. We saw the moment approach when we must bid farewell to earth. * * * We * * * were fully persuaded that in twenty-four hours all would be over. The engineers had said so, and all knew the worst." It was known, for three days before the arrival of Havelock's force, that it was on the way. On the night of the 22nd of September a letter had been brought from General Sir James Outram, which announced "that an army thoroughly appointed had crossed the Ganges on the 19th, and would, D. V., soon relieve" the besieged garrison. "The spirits of the garrison, European and native, were greatly raised by the intelligence, which spread like wildfire." This was not all:—"During the morning of the 23rd September, the weather cleared, and the sound of artillery in the direction of Cawnpoor was distinctly heard. By 2 P. M., the reports became quite frequent and loud. * * * Later in the afternoon, some field-pieces appeared to have advanced much nearer. * * * All now was exultation and joy within the garrison."* On the 24th and 25th, the British guns were heard; at about 10 A. M., on the latter date, a messenger brought the intelligence "that our troops had reached the outskirts of the city"; at about 1 P. M.,—"the guns of our redan battery, and every other gun that could be brought to bear upon the flying enemy, as well as our mortars, opened a rapid fire upon them," as they crossed the river in full flight, some by the bridge and some by swimming; at "about two o'clock, the smoke of our guns was seen in the suburbs of the city"; at four o'clock, "European troops and officers in movement" were descried; at a few minutes after five, "the column of the 78th Highlanders and Seikhs, accompanied by several mounted officers, were seen" approaching; "and almost before a cheer could be raised, General Outram rode up, and dismounted at the embrasure of Aitken's battery,

* The Mutinies in Oudh, 1st edn., p. 297.

near the Bailey Guard Gate." * From these facts, it will be seen that for three days before the arrival of the relief, and on the day of arrival, there was nothing in the beleaguered garrison to give rise either to despondency, or to the second sight which the story-teller connects with that feeling.

The writer errs in classing, amongst the "light duties which had been assigned to" the women, that of "conveying orders to the batteries." This duty must have been one of the heaviest that had to be performed at Lucknow, both as regards labour, importance, and responsibility; one which, for its correct performance, required superior physical and mental power, and superior education; and which, so long as a staff officer was available, would not be entrusted to any man of lower rank, much less to a woman, and least of all to a woman of Jessie's character.

"Supplying the men with provisions" was another of the duties assigned to the women. In the first place, the majority of the European soldiers at Lucknow during the siege were men of H. M.'s 32nd regiment, the whole of whose wives, or nearly the whole, had been left at Cawnpore, and had perished there in the massacres; so that it can hardly be conceived that there were women enough left at Lucknow to supply the soldiers with provisions. Secondly, the wives of soldiers on service are not in India required to perform this duty, a class of men called cooks being employed for this purpose. Lastly, although the cook-boys of the artillery and the 32nd regiment deserted, not a word is said about women having to cook; but it is stated that the men, having got over the inconvenience which was felt for a day or two at first, "were better pleased to cook for themselves, a large portion of their rations having, as they said, been stolen by their cooks." † This portion of our author's conception is based rather upon the European than the Indian internal regimental economy.

The writer seems not to have been aware of the privations to which the soldiers of the garrison had been reduced, as he men-

* The Mutinies in Oudh, 1st edn., pp. 298 to 300.

† Ibid, p. 294.

tions amongst the duties which the women had to perform, that of supplying "especially cups of coffee, which were prepared day and night." For a month and a half before this day, the soldiers had not tasted coffee. Under date the 8th of August, Captain Wilson writes,—"All the tea and coffee for the Europeans expended; the last issue being made yesterday." * And although some private individuals, or some messes, had a limited supply of tea, that was not partaken of by the European soldier; even the men who had on the 25th forced their way through the city, over mines and trenches, and under a storm of bullets, to the garrison, and arrived there thirsty and exhausted, were not regaled with coffee or tea, but with "drinks of water"; tea, "without milk or sugar," being given to the officers only. †

"At last, overcome by fatigue, she lay down on the ground, wrapped up in her plaid." The probabilities are against a soldier's wife, in the climate of Lucknow, being in possession of a plaid, even on the supposition that she had had one on her first arrival in Calcutta. The plaid would have been one of the first articles she would have disposed of, on experiencing the heat of an Indian sun and the want of other articles more suited to the climate. Setting this aside, it is not likely that Jessie's wardrobe would have escaped the effects that befel the clothing of officers and others, and which are described in the following passage:—"Many of the officers of the garrison were by this time [September] in rags. The refugees from outstations had brought nothing with them but the clothes upon their backs. At the capital, many had lost all their wardrobes when the cantonments were fired and plundered on the 30th of May, and there had been a great destruction of private property and clothes in the Muchee Bhawun. Light clothing was greatly in demand, but the contents of the wardrobes which had been saved having been exhausted, coats now hung in tatters on their wearers." ‡

The idea of Jessie lying down on the ground, the lady sitting beside her, and the women flocking to the spot, about the

* The Defence of Lucknow, p. 99. † A Lady's Diary, p. 120.
‡ The Mutinies in Oudh, 1st edn., pp. 295, 296.

batteries, on the 25th of September, in Lucknow, is not caught from fact. No woman in the garrison would have ventured out on that day, or would have been permitted to show herself in the batteries. Even during the panic which appeared to have seized a large portion of the enemy on that day, when armed men, sepoys and irregular cavalry, were fleeing across the river, and every available gun and mortar was fired as fast as possible on the retreating foe, "for at least an hour and a half," the guns of the enemy in position all around "kept up a heavy cannonade, and the matchlockmen or riflemen never ceased firing from their respective loop-holes."* The enemy's mortars, too, seem to have been at work; for an 8-inch shell fell and burst in Dr. Fayrer's house, and "the pieces were picked up in all directions, several in Mrs. Fayrer's room."†

Finally, the close of the "scene" is altogether out of character; not with respect to the "scene," but in regard to facts. "Jessie was presented to the General on his entrance into the fort." There was neither time nor opportunity for such formalities on the arrival of the relief. Impatient of the delay of a few minutes which occurred in opening the Bailey Guard Gate, many of the Highlanders, together with the two Generals, Outram and Havelock, made their way in the darkness into the entrenchment by the embrasure; and in a moment all were "shaking hands frantically, and exchanging fervent 'God bless you's.' * * * The state of joyful confusion and excitement" was "beyond description. The big, rough-bearded soldiers were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore. We were all rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water. * * * Every one's tongue seemed to be going at once with so much to ask and tell."‡ Another writes—"Rushing forward, the rough and bearded warriors shook the ladies by the hand, amidst loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing

* The Defence of Lucknow, p. 173. † A Lady's Diary, p. 121.
‡ A Lady's Diary, p. 120.

them, passed them from one to another to be caressed in turn. * * * * Every body was on foot. All the thoroughfares were thronged; and new faces were every moment appearing of friends which one had least expected to see. * * * The happy and excited moments passed quickly, until by degrees the excitement moderated." *

"At the officers' banquet her health was drunk by all present, while the pipers marched round the table, playing once more the familiar air of 'Auld lang syne.'" All very dramatic this; but let us look at the reality. Here it is:—"Tea was made down in the Tye Khana, of which a large party of tired thirsty officers partook, without milk or sugar, and we had nothing to give them to eat." † A sorry beverage to drink Jessie's health in, and a poor banqueting-room, the cellar.

Notwithstanding what has been objected, the fiction, viewed as such, is excellent.

* The Mutinies in Oudh, 1st edn., pp. 301, 302.
‡ A Lady's Diary, p. 120.

CHAPTER VI.

FICTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO A Mrs. MURRAY, WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE, ON JUNE 27, 1857;* AND TO A WOMAN NAMED MARIAN.

LVIII. "It was about this time that General Wheeler ordered a parade of all the Regiments stationed at Cawnpore, and read out officially a General Order that the use of the old muskets ceased in the army from that date, and that in future Enfield rifles would be supplied in their place. The sepoys, of course, refused to use the new guns. Parade was again ordered in the evening, with no better results. Since that time parades would regularly take place twice a day. The General was determined to carry out the orders, and the sepoys were determined to oppose them. While this foolish obstinacy both on the part of the General and the army lasted, the sepoys seemed to have been very much dissatisfied, and openly grumbled to go to the parade."—*Mrs. Murray,* in the *Indian Empire.*

CAPTAIN MOWBRAY THOMSON, one of the few survivors of the boat massacre at Cawnpore on the 27th of June 1857, affirms that there was not an Enfield rifle in Cawnpore until fifteen men of the 1st Madras fusiliers joined the garrison two days before the outbreak, and that these were the only men in Cawnpore armed with that weapon. The "new guns," therefore, having never been issued to the Cawnpore native infantry regiments, could not have produced all the bad effects attributed by Mrs. Murray to the issue of that weapon, or any of them; and the story of the antagonism between the general and the native troops, on the score of the Enfield rifle having been brought into use amongst them, becomes a pure myth.

LIX. "After one or two deaths took place on the well, people commenced sending little children to draw water, thinking they would

* Published in a Calcutta Newspaper entitled "*The Indian Empire.*"

not be fired at. * * * Many children were killed and wounded on the well while drawing water."—*Mrs. Murray*, in the *Indian Empire.*

"The statement that little children were sent to draw water is an invention; this task was always performed by volunteers, and some of our privates of the European regiments made a trade of it, charging so much per bucket."* Connected with this well the following interesting story is told:—"My friend, John McKillop, of the Civil Service, greatly distinguished himself here; he became self-constituted captain of the well. He jocosely said that he was no fighting man, but would make himself useful where he could, and accordingly he took his post; drawing for the supply of the women and the children as often as he could. It was less than a week after he had undertaken this self-denying service, when his numerous escapes were followed by a grape-shot wound in the groin, and speedy death. Disinterested even in death, his last words were an earnest entreaty that somebody would go and draw water for a lady to whom he had promised it."—*The Story of Cawnpore*, pp. 86, 87.

LX. "The soldiers, one night, having consulted together, sallied out of the Garrison disguised in black, and utterly spoilt one of the batteries which the rebels had constructed on the four sides of the Garrison, spiked as many guns as they could lay their hands upon, and would have assuredly done more, but the General having heard of it disapproved of the bold attempt, and having immediately ordered the bugle to sound, when they all returned into the Garrison."—*Mrs. Murray*, in the *Indian Empire.*

"The Garrison disguised in black" is, to say the least of it, *obscure.* It might mean that the garrison was clothed in night, or, in plain prose, the night was very dark in the garrison. If "disguised in black" refers to the soldiers, the difficulty is to account for the manner in which they came by the black clothing, which formed no part of their kit or uniform.

"The sally said to have been contrived by consultation

* Captain Mowbray Thomson, in *The Times.*

among the troops was an orderly assault upon the batteries of the besiegers, headed by Captain Moore, 32nd foot, with the full consent of General Wheeler. No retreat was sounded; and they [the soldiers] returned in due order when their work was done, and not before. It was as cool a thing as was ever seen in war." * More details are given in the following extract: —" Soon after the destruction of the hospital, it was determined upon by Captain Moore to make a dash upon the enemy's guns, in the hope of silencing some of these destructive weapons, and thus lessening the severity of the attack. Accordingly, a party of fifty, headed by the Captain, sallied out at midnight, towards the church compound, where they spiked two or three guns. Proceeding thence to the mess-house, they killed several of the native gunners asleep at their posts, blew up one of the twenty-four-pounders, and spiked another or two; but although it was a most brilliant, daring, and successful exploit, it availed us little, as the next day they brought fresh guns into position, and this piece of service cost us one private killed, and four wounded."—*The Story of Cawnpore*, p. 112.

LXI. "If the General only held out for a fortnight or twelve days more, the whole of the Garrison would have been relieved by General Havelock, who arrived at Cawnpore just twelve days after the massacre."—*Mrs. Murray*, in the *Indian Empire*.

Not so. General Havelock did not march into Cawnpore until the morning of the 17th of July; and the entrenchment was abandoned by General Wheeler on the 27th of June. Including these two dates, there is an interval of 21 days instead of 12.

LXII. "They also brought mortars, but the shells being filled with powder only, would scarcely do any harm. * * * With all their firing, very few men were killed in the entrenchment. * * * It was about this time when the old Havildar whom General Wheeler had confined on suspicion, and who was in the Garrison, was killed

* Captain Mowbray Thomson, in *The Times*.

by the bursting of a shell. Another lady [was the havildar a lady ?] was also killed in the same way. But accidents like this were so rare that I scarcely remember but one or two instances in which lives were lost."—*Mrs. Murray,* in the *Indian Empire.*

The idea that "the shells being filled with powder only, would scarcely do any harm," is, to say the least of it, original; and doubtless Mrs. Murray's amanuensis was an original in military knowledge in general and artillery in particular. The shells cut off numbers of the garrison. 250 men were killed in the entrenchment in 22 days, and a large number of these by shells; a dozen fatal casualties are certainly remembered by Captain Mowbray Thomson to have happened in a single day from the bursting of the enemy's shells.

LXIII. "It is a remarkable fact, that during the whole period of our stay in the Garrison, no more than thirty soldiers on an average must have been killed."—*Mrs. Murray,* in the *Indian Empire.*

"The whole of the artillerymen at the station, 50 in number, were killed at their guns, except four or five, who survived till the embarkation. Our force of European troops at the time of the outbreak consisted of 50 artillerymen, 75 of the 32nd Regiment (invalids), 15 of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and about 50 of the 84th foot; about 200 in all. I am sure that 100 of these fell during the siege."—*Captain Mowbray Thomson.*

LXIV. "On the 26th of June, Jacoby or Jacobite, the watchmaker's sister-in-law, who was left behind, and was in the hands of the rebels, came with a letter from Nana Saheb, offering terms of peace. Her brother-in-law and sister were in the Garrison. She swore Nana was sincere in his professions, and the General, as the drowning man grasps at a straw, swallowed down everything as Gospel truth. The whole garrison was against surrendering, and bitterly opposed the General when he seemed inclined to accept of the offer. The soldiers became mad to hear that the General was going to accept the offer. They broke their guns in a rage, and openly exhibited every sign of insubordination, but to no purpose. The General accepted of the terms in the teeth of universal opposition.

Mrs. Wheeler herself opposed him, and begged of him not to do this, but to no purpose. He was firm and inflexible."—*Mrs. Murray*, in the *Indian Empire*.

In the first place, it was not Jacoby that brought the letter, but "Mrs. Greenway, a member of a wealthy family who had resided at Cawnpore, and carried on their operations as merchants in the cantonments."—(*Story of Cawnpore*, pp. 148, 149). So far was she from swearing that the Nana was sincere in his professions, that, on being interrogated as to the treatment she received from the rebels, she "gave distressing details of their cruelty. They had fed her only on a most starving allowance of chupatties and water; stripped her of all her clothing but a gown, and pulled her earrings out through the flesh. She cried most bitterly while enumerating her wrongs"—(pp. 151, 152). And then, as to the story about the alacrity displayed by the general in accepting the terms of the amnesty, nothing can be wider from the truth.

"Sir Hugh Wheeler, still hopeful of relief from Calcutta, and suspicious of treachery on the part of the Nana, for a long time most strenuously opposed the idea of making terms; but upon the representation that there were only three days' rations in store, and after the often-reiterated claims of the women and children, and the most deplorable destitution in which we were placed, he at last succumbed to Captain Moore's expostulations, and consented to the preparation of a treaty of capitulation"—(p. 50).

LXV. "When the Garrison reached the ghaut, the men were ordered to go in the boats, to which they objected, unless the ladies and children were first accommodated. But the General being assured that there was no harm in it, that there was some breakfast prepared for the ladies and children, which, as soon as they had taken, they would be put on the boat, the General got into a boat, and then all the men followed his example. As soon as the main body of the men were thus separated from women and children, they were fired at."—*Mrs. Murray*, in the *Indian Empire*.

In this passage, the male members of the garrison are made to

appear despicably cowardly, by securing themselves on board of the boats, and leaving the females and the children behind at the mercy of the rebels. The writer did not evidently believe this part of her story; for, a little further on, she speaks of "The gentlemen who were left on the bank, or at least those who had not got into the boat," &c. Also, in her statement, published in the *Calcutta Englishman* of the 30th of October 1858, she says,—"All my family went down to the boat with me. My husband was shot, and afterwards the other members of my family were killed. I saw them all fall. I was standing in the water when I was attacked by a sowar, who cut me about in several places, until I fell senseless on the edge of the water as if dead." Her progress appears to have been from the water to the bank, which could not have been the case, if all the women and children had been left on the bank. The probability is, that she and the members of her family, or a portion of them, got out of the boat to lighten it, so that it might be pushed into deep water; or dropped overboard for shelter, when the firing commenced.

A young female, who escaped from the boat massacre, states, in her narrative which appeared in the *Evening Mail* of August 9 to August 11, 1858,—"We entered these [the boats] joyfully. * * * I was on the deck of my boat, seated stupified with terror and amazement, when I was further convinced of immediate danger by seeing a party of sepoys enter the boat I was in. * * * I felt dizzy, and sank on the deck. * * * I returned to consciousness by feeling myself suddenly and rudely seized and thrown into the river."

Captain Mowbray Thomson seems not to have been aware that the women and children were left on the bank. He says,—"When we reached the place of embarkation, all of us, men and women, as well as the bearers of the wounded and children, had to wade knee-deep through the water, to get into the boats."—(*Story of Cawnpore*, p. 165.) After the firing commenced, and the thatch roofs of most of the boats had been set on fire, "wretched multitudes of women and children crouched behind the boats, or waded out into deeper water, and stood

up to their chins in the river, to lessen the probability of being shot"—(p. 168). "Just after I had been pulled into the boat, Mrs. Swinton, who was a relative of Lieutenant Jervis of the Engineers, was standing up in the stern, and, having been struck by a round shot, fell overboard and sank immediately. Her poor little boy, six years old, came up to me and said, 'Mamma has fallen overboard!' I endeavoured to comfort him, and told him mamma would not suffer any more pain"—(pp. 171, 172). Again, after Major Vibart's boat stranded off Nuzzuffghur, we read that "Lieutenant Quin was shot through the arm; Captain Seppings through the arm; and Mrs. Seppings through the thigh. Lieutenant Harrison was shot dead. I took off his rings, and gave them to Mrs. Seppings, as I thought the women might perhaps excite some commiseration, and that if any of our party escaped, it would be some of them"—(pp. 176, 177). Of Mrs. Fraser, who had escaped to the boats with scarcely any clothing upon her, it is said,—"In the thickest of the deadly volleys poured upon us from the banks, she appeared alike indifferent to danger and to her own scanty covering; while, with perfect equanimity and imperturbed fortitude, she was entirely occupied in the attempt to soothe and relieve the agonised sufferers around her, whose wounds scarcely made their condition worse than her own"—(p. 27). "She [Mrs. Blair] and her surviving daughter embarked in the same boat with myself"—(p. 120).

James Stuart, a pensioner, late of the 56th N. I., who escaped from the Cawnpore massacre, deposed as follows:—"The whole embarked. * * * I, my wife, and a Mrs. Lett, who were in one boat which was foundered by shots, immediately slipped to the far side of the boat, and there, by bobbing our heads and keeping quiet, we were saved, and as soon as they moved off with their prisoners, we had to strip and run;"* &c.

Myoor Tewaree, one of the British spies, speaking of a boat which was brought back after it had proceeded several miles down the river, says,—"There came out of that boat 50 Sahibs

* *Calcutta Phœnix*, quoted in the *Friend of India*, August 27th, 1857, p. 818.

[gentlemen], 25 Mem Sahibs [ladies], and 4 children (one boy and 3 half grown girls)."*

It is evident, therefore, that the women and children embarked on board of the boats at Cawnpore on the 27th of June 1857, and that the men of the unfortunate garrison were not the selfish and cowardly wretches that Mrs. Murray, or the person who wrote in her name to the *Indian Empire*, would fain make them appear.

The subjoined extracts are taken from the *Calcutta Phœnix* of September 1, 1857:—

LXVI. "We have been kindly favoured with the following translation of a deposition made by Marian, an ayah in the service of Mr. J. Greenway, of Cawnpore; it was taken on the 21st August, and is a horrible account of the dreadful massacre. Seeing that it is corroborated in many particulars by other accounts, we fear it is but too true:—

"'On the 3rd of May, all the Native Infantry and Cavalry Regiments at Cawnpore mutinied, and ran off to loot the Treasury, which they took.'"†

The date of the mutiny is made too early by about a month. The flight of all the regiments was not simultaneous, as implied in the extract:—"On the night of the 6th of June, the 2nd Cavalry broke out. * * * An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st Native Infantry also bolted. * * * The 56th Native Infantry followed the next morning. The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the general, they were fired into. * * * Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by nine-pounders."‡ As to their plundering the treasury, that had been already made over to Nana's safe keeping, and was guarded on that day by a detachment of his troops,

* *Friend of India*, September 3, 1857.

† The narrative of Marian being a mixture of fact and fiction, and the avowed object of the present work being to expose fiction, the latter alone in its more prominent aspects has been introduced.

‡ Story of Cawnpore, pp. 38, 39.

together with a company of the 53rd native infantry. The treasury was plundered by Nana, who came out to meet the mutineers, "and at their head proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the government elephants laden with the public money, and distributed a vast amount of it among the sepoys."*

LXVII. "Mr. Jacobi's wife was hiding in one of the Nawab's houses, and was discovered by a sowar, who took her to the Nana Saheb in Hindoostanee, clothes, having caught her in one of the ghauts crossing to Lucknow. The Nawab was sending her there for safety. The Nana imprisoned her with one Mr. Greenway. * * * He then said to Mrs. Jacobi,—'Will you take a note to General Wheeler?' She said, 'Yes.' The letter was written, and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the General. She was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers, but when they heard the English voice, they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were,—'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the entrenchment, General Wheeler went to meet Mrs. Jacobi, and when he read the note, he said,—'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any proposition to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took the reply back to the Nana. He said,—'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go and send a reply.' The General said,—'Let both sides cease firing during the conference.' This was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother Baba Bhut, and nephew, and a large party of soldiers came up to the entrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said,—'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said,—'You take your solemn oath, according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, that I will leave the entrenchment.' The Nana said,—'Our oath is, that whoever we take by the hand, and any one who relies on us, we never deceive; for if we do, God will judge and punish us.' General Wheeler said,—'If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once, I am not armed.' The Nana replied,—'I will not deceive you; rely on us, I will procure food, &c., and convey you to Allahabad.' On this, the General went into the entrenchment, and consulted with the soldiers, who said,—'There is no reliance to be placed on natives; they will deceive you.' A few said,—'Trust them, it is better to do so.' On this the General returned, and said,—'I agree to your terms: see us only as far as Futtehpore; from

* Story of Cawnpore, p. 41.

thence we can get easily to Allahabad.' The reply was,—'No, Sir, I will see you all safe to Allahabad.' Twenty boats were then ordered with covers to them. When the Nana saw all was settled, he said,—'Don't let the treasure be taken away, send that to me.' The General said,—'You may have the money.' There were three lacks in cash at this time. The Nana said,—'You will breakfast on board the boats at 10 A. M. to-morrow, and also dine on board, and leave the entrenchment clear by 11 A. M.' The General assented to this. They were all ready, when a message from the Nana came saying,—'The boats will not be ready to-day, you must leave to-morrow; you had better leave in the evening, &c.' The General's reply to this was,—'I won't leave at night, as you may play us false.' The Nana then said,—'Very well, you can leave at 4 P. M.' On the following day the Nana took away all the treasure. At this time some delay again took place in their departure. All the ladies and children were dressed and ready. The General asked the Nana,—'Are all our servants to go with us, or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was,—'Yes, you can take them.' The next day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent word on Sunday to say the servants were not to go; that the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard, they were alarmed. At 7 A. M., the mutineers surrounded the entrenchment, and all the English were in their power. The servants ran away and were cut down; a few escaped. All were alarmed. The rebels entered the entrenchment, and said,—'Come to the boats, all is ready.' The ladies and children were sent on elephants, *doolies*, &c. and the men marched to the river, and then embarked in the boats. When they all saw food prepared, and all comfortable, they were delighted."

From the way in which Marian talks, it might be imagined that she had had a very intimate acquaintance with every body and every thing in every part of the neighbourhood; that she was present in the house of the Nawab, present at the river ferries, present in the prison of Nana, present in the entrenchment; that she was present at the councils of the Nawab, of Nana, and of the General; that, in short, she knew perfectly well what they all thought, what they all wrote, what they all said, and what they all did. Such a witness would indeed be invaluable, if it were possible to obtain one. But, alas for human weakness! people are apt to be so uncharitable as to suspect, that the person who pretends to a great deal of knowledge of various kinds is not to be trusted; he is regarded as a sort of "Jack-of-all-trades and good at none."

Unfortunately, Marian is in error as to the agent by whom Nana sent the note ; for, instead of Mrs. Jacobi, the bearer happened to be Mrs. Greenway.*

The testimony of the witness as to the contents of the letter is equally wrong, as will be seen by contrasting them with the purport of the letter as given by Captains Thomson and Delafosse :—

Marian's Version.	*Captain Thomson's Version.*	*Captain Delafosse's Version.*
"It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting ; if so you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved."	"'All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad.'" †	"To the effect that all soldiers and Europeans who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's government, and would lay down their arms, should be sent to Allahabad."

On the bearer of the letter "reaching the entrenchment," says Marian, "General Wheeler went to meet" her. This is incorrect in both particulars. Captain Thomson says,—"As soon as she had recovered herself after entering the barrack, Mrs. Greenway handed me a letter. * * * I took this document to Captain Moore, and he, together with General Wheeler and Captain Whiting, deliberated over its contents. * * * While the deliberations were going on, Mrs. Greenway stayed in my picket," ‡ that is in the aforesaid barrack outside of the entrenchment. She neither entered the entrenchment, nor met General Wheeler. The dialogue, therefore, alleged to have taken place between the messenger and the general, is mere rot.

Marian is not less in error when she says,—"On the following day the Nana, his brother Baba Bhut, and nephew, and a large party of soldiers, came up to the entrenchment. General

* Story of Cawnpore, p. 148. † Ibid, p. 150.
‡ Ibid, pp. 149, 151.

Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said" &c. The only persons on the side of the enemy named by Captain Thomson as having take an active part in the capitulation, were Azimoolah and Juwallah Pershaud; some other natives are also alluded to.* They came not so far as the entrenchment, or even to the picket outside, but remained about two hundred yards beyond Captain Thomson's barrack. To this point " Captains Moore and Whiting, and Mr. Roche, postmaster of Cawnpore, went out to arrange the terms of the capitulation," † with which General Wheeler had no more connection than that of giving his assent to whatever might be agreed upon by Captain Moore. Even after the terms had been settled, Nana did not make his appearance near either the entrenchment or the outlying picket; but Mr. Todd " volunteered to take the document across to the Sevadah Kothi, the Nana's residence, and, after an absence of about half an hour, he returned with the treaty of capitulation signed by the Nana." ‡ Of course, the conversation alleged to have taken place between Nana and General Wheeler is, under these circumstances, a simple impossibility.

Further, Marian saith,—" The ladies and children * * * and the men * * * then embarked in the boats. When they all saw food prepared, and all comfortable, they were delighted." Captain Thomson tells a different tale. He says, regarding the supplies of food in the boats, that " before the morning" of embarkation, " there was not left in any of them a sufficient meal for a rat." § And again,—" We had no food in the boat." ‖

LXVIII. " A daughter of General Wheeler was taken off by a sowar, and put into his house along with his wife near the Chowck Church. This girl remained with this man till night. He went out and came home drunk, and fell asleep. She took a sword and cut off his head, his brother's head, two children's heads, and his wife's, and then walked into the night-air, where she saw other sowars, and

* Story of Cawnpore, pp. 152, 153.
† Ibid, p. 152.
‡ Ibid, p. 154.
§ Ibid, p. 156.
‖ Ibid, p. 172.

said to them, 'Go inside and see how nicely I have been rubbing the Resaldar's feet.' They went inside, and found all of them dead. She then jumped into a well and was killed. From fear, seeing what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the English women, whom the Nana at first proposed to give to the soldiers."

The story about the doings of Miss Wheeler is elsewhere shown to be without valid foundation; and the alleged consequences of her conduct can of course have no support in fact. That at least one other woman of English parentage was in like manner carried off by the rebels, is evident, from the account furnished by one who herself afterwards escaped, and who is believed to be at present alive in Calcutta.

LXIX. "Ten days after this he [Nana] sent them [the ladies and children] to a house, the assembly rooms. The Nana then wrote to the rebels at Delhi, mentioning the number of women and children he had taken prisoners, and soliciting instructions regarding them. A reply was received that they were not to be killed. The Nana then ordered servants for the prisoners."

The date from which the ten days are here calculated is that on which the gentlemen, who were brought back from one of the boats, were slaughtered,—the 2nd of July 1857. Ten days after this would bring the 12th of July. On this date, according to Marian, the Nana "wrote to the rebels at Delhi." The distance of Delhi from Cawnpore is 266 miles. An answer is said to have been received, and servants ordered for the prisoners, who, as is well known, were massacred on the evening of the 15th, three days after the letter is said to have been written. The bearer of the letter must, if Marian is to be believed, have traversed 532 miles in less than three days. Not less improbable is the reply which she says was received, that the ladies and children "were not to be killed." The rebels at Delhi, who slaughtered nearly every European woman and child on whom they could lay their hands, sent back to Nana, according to the veracious Marian, a reply to the effect foregoing!

LXX. " The Nana gave orders to kill every one and to spare none. This took place on the 15th July ; but the General and others who were brought back were killed on the 2nd of the month. When the soldiers heard of the Nana's orders to kill them, they tore their clothes, and with the shreds fastened the doors. ' One of the sowars killed the native doctor ; then the cook and methranee ; then one sowar jumped from over the wall and began the slaughter, and other sowars then came through the door. All the prisoners were killed."

Marian is the only witness who informs us that soldiers were spared, and shut up with the ladies and children until the 15th of July. The testimony of others goes to show that all soldiers, with the exception of one or two officers, had been previously disposed of. The agents in the slaughter which took place on the 15th of July were, according to Marian's showing, all troopers; while Fitchett, whose account is given in another place, and who was an eye-witness as to what occurred outside of the slaughter-house, gives us to understand that not only the troopers, but even the mutineers of the 6th native infantry, those bloodthirsty assassins of Allahabad, declined to stain their arms with the blood of the women and children at Cawnpore, and thus compelled Nana to procure from the bazar sundry wretches, butchers and others, to carry out his diabolical arrangements.

From what has been shown above, it is clear that Marian is an authority whom the historian would do well to reject altogether ; for the facts which she furnishes are better told by others; and there is great danger, from the confident tone in which she speaks, of her fictions being adopted as the trustworthy evidence of an eye-witness. Nearly the whole of her narrative is inserted in the *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*. *

* Pages 117, 118.

CHAPTER VII.

FICTIONS FROM MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES.

LXXI. At Neemuch, "Old Pestonjee they blew away from a gun, and it is believed they treated some European women in the same way."—*Letter dated Odeypore, 9th June* 1857, in the *Bombay Times.*

WHILE one of the Bombay journals was busied in endeavouring to excite the Parsees to vengeance, and for this purpose was making capital of the barbarous manner of Pestonjee's death, the old man happened to turn up in a whole skin; and it was subsequently ascertained that no European, either male or female, was blown away from a gun at Neemuch on the occasion referred to.

The following is said to have been "communicated" to the *Poona Observer* :—

LXXII. "By recent letters received from Brigadier Havelock's force, it appears, that on the arrival of the detachment of the 78th Highlanders at that 'place of skulls,' Cawnpore, after the massacre of our countrymen, women, and children, they by some means or other found the remains of one of General Wheeler's daughters. The sight was horrible, and aroused them to that pitch, that, gathering around, they removed the hair from off the poor girl's head, a portion of which [the head ?] was carefully selected and sent home to her surviving friends. The remainder they equally divided amongst themselves; and on each man receiving his carefully served out portion, they all quietly and very patiently applied themselves to the tedious task of counting out the number of hairs contained in each individual's lot; and when this task was accomplished, they one and all swore most solemnly by Heaven, and the God that made them, that for

as many hairs as they held in their fingers, so many of the cruel and treacherous mutineers should die by their hands! An oath that they will no doubt most religiously keep."

The compiler of the *Revolt in India* justly regards this story as one "which, unless supported by collateral testimony, seems wanting in probability"; and he adds,—"The storm of indignant feeling that might suggest such a vow can be understood easily enough; but the alleged mode of manifestation savours somewhat of the melodramatic and improbable"—(p. 144). In spite of the well known fact that Miss Wheeler was seen alive at Futtehghur in 1858, more than one of the good people of Bombay took the trouble to inquire of some of the Cawnpore heroes of H. M.'s 78th, as they passed through the island on their way to Europe, this year, whether the remains of Miss Wheeler had been found, as alleged in the *Poona Observer;* the reply was generally either a simple and decided negative, a shrug of the shoulders, or something altogether evasive.

LXXIII. "On the 21st or 22nd ultimo [June 1857], Sir Hugh Wheeler sank under the wounds which he had received; and the garrison, three or four days after his death, being short both of provisions and ammunition, and reduced in number by several casualties, hoisted a flag of truce. The Nana Saheb then stopped the assault, and sent to inquire what was meant by the flag. Answer was returned by the Europeans, to the effect that they had neither food nor ammunition, and they proposed to give up the country to him on his allowing them to depart."—*One who was* (by his own account) *present throughout the affair.*—*Calcutta Englishman*, 28th July 1857.

The alleged death of General Wheeler from wounds, prior to the capitulation, needs no further notice here than to observe that this story throws the date of his death still further back than the 24th of June 1857. The present fiction kills him on the 22nd or the 23rd of June. Contrary to all other accounts, this story makes the English take the initiative in the negotiations about the capitulation. It will probably be deemed sufficient here to transcribe Captain Mowbray Thomson's

account of the commencement of these transactions:—"On the twenty-first day of the siege, the firing of my picket having ceased for a short time, the look-out man up in the crow's nest shouted, 'There's a woman coming across.' She was supposed to have been a spy, and one of the picket would have shot her, but that I knocked down his arm and saved her life. She had a child at her breast, but was so imperfectly clothed as to be without shoes and stockings. I lifted her over the barricade in a fainting condition, when I recognised her as Mrs. Greenway. * * * As soon as she had recovered herself after entering the barrack, Mrs. Greenway handed me a letter with this superscription,—

"'*To the Subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.*'

"I took this document to Captain Moore, and he, together with General Wheeler and Captain Whiting, deliberated over its contents—they were as follows:—

"'All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad.'"* Thus, it appears, the proposals for a treaty came first from the enemy.

Moreover, the garrison was not without food, as stated in the fiction; for when the capitulation was projected, there were "supplies sufficient for four more days at the reduced rate."†

The following extract will serve to show two things,—that the garrison had ammunition, and that they were not disposed to leave the entrenchment with indecent haste:—"The sowar came back to us once more, and Captain Whiting and I went out to meet him, when he informed us that the Nana was inflexible in his determination that we should instantly evacuate, and that if we hesitated his guns would open upon us again; and moreover, he bade us remember that he was thoroughly acquainted with our impoverished condition; he knew that our guns were shattered, and if he did renew the bombardment, we must all certainly be killed. To all this Whiting replied we should never be afraid

* Story of Cawnpore, pp. 148—150. † Ibid, p. 134.

of their entering the entrenchment, as we had repelled their repeated attempts to do this, and even if they should succeed in overpowering us, we had men always ready at the magazines to blow us all up together. The sowar returned to the Nana, and by and by he came out to us again, with the verbal consent that we should delay the embarkation until the morning." *

LXXIV. "An Artillery (or Commissariat) Serjeant at Neemuch barricaded his house. His wife and two children were inside with him. The wife said she would shoot the first who forced an entrance, and was as good as her word, but was overcome. They (the mutineers or the rabble of the bazar) fired the house, and the husband bolted. The children also rushed out, but were seized by the fiends, and thrown back into the flames, and so died."—*Deesa, 18th June* 1857.

Another version of this fiction was furnished to the *Poona Observer* in a letter dated Oodeypore, 24th idem:—"All escaped, thank God, except the Serjeant Major's wife of the Artillery and her three children. After butchering the poor woman, they put her children into a box, set fire to it, and burned them to death. It is said that she defended her children most heroically, and killed two of the fiends with her husband's gun before she was overpowered."

One whose "*hands afterwards collected the poor remains and ashes, and consigned them to the earth,*" furnishes the substance of the following correction in the *Lahore Chronicle* of the 14th of October 1857:—The Serjeant Major's wife appears to have shut herself in her house, a pukka one; the fiends were, therefore, unable to turn her out. The marks of gun-shots on the walls and through the doors clearly demonstrated the manner of her death. She had no fire-arms to defend herself with. Her husband, Serjeant Major Supple, of the horse artillery, is a noble fellow. He escorted an officer of the troop out of the battery to a place of safety, and afterwards, on a borrowed horse, returned to the station. He could not approach the house,—had

* Story of Cawnpore, pp. 153, 154.

he done so, it would have been of no use, for his poor wife and children were then beyond all human aid. "I have nothing now to live for, Sir," said the serjeant to an officer, despondingly; "Oh yes," replied the officer, "you have, Serjeant,—revenge!" "By G—d, Sir, I have!" said the serjeant major; and with "revenge" before him he appeared quite a different man. The burying of the bodies was of necessity entrusted to a native official. He gave his orders, it is presumed, and reported that everything had been correctly done; but it appears that the bodies of the three children, with the unfortunate mother, lying on charpoys, were merely burnt,—broken furniture, and possibly "boxes," being used for fuel.

LXXV. "A HUNDRED, a thousand to one; even so;
Not a hope in the world remained;
The swarming, howling wretches below,
Gained, and gained, and gained.

"S—— look'd at his pale young wife:—
'Is the time come?' 'The time is come!'
Young, strong, and so full of life;
The agony struck them dumb.

"'Will it hurt much?' 'No, mine own:
I wish I could bear the pang for both.'
'I wish I could bear the pang alone:
Courage, dear! I am not loth.'

"Kiss and kiss: 'It is not pain
Thus to kiss and die.
One kiss more.' 'And yet one again.'
'Good bye!' 'Good bye!'"

CAROLINE G. ROSSETTI.*

A prose version runs thus:—

"Skene then saw it was of no use going on any more; so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."—*English newspaper.*

Regarding the occurrences of the 8th of June 1857, the date on which the death of Captain Skene occurred, Sir R. N. C.

* "Once a Week," p. 140.

Hamilton, Agent of the Governor General for Central India, writes, in a letter from Jhansi, dated 23rd of April 1858,—"After the most careful inquiry I have ascertained, that with the exception of Major Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor, who were murdered on the parade, the whole of the parties in the accompanying list left the fort of Jhansi on the afternoon of the 8th, under a promise of safety; that they * * * had reached the Jokhun Bagh, about four hundred yards from the gate, when they were stopped on the road side under some trees. * * * Here Bukshish Ali, Jail Darogah,* called out, 'It is the Ressaldar's order that all should be killed';—and immediately cut down Captain Skene, to whom he was indebted for his situation under Government."†

Captain Pinkaly, writing from Jhansi to the *Poona Observer*, in a letter dated 11th April 1858, mentions, in giving the result of his inquiries,—"Bukshish Ali, Jail Daroga, commencing by cutting down Captain Skene with his own hand."‡

Sahib-ood-deen, a personal servant of Captain Skene, who was at Jhansi on the day of the slaughter, said in a statement made by him on the 23rd of March 1858,—"Bukish Ally observed that he had killed the Burra Sahib [the great gentleman, meaning the Commissioner or Superintendent, Captain Skene] with one stroke."§

In a letter from Nagode,‖ the following is given in the substance of the depositions of some natives who had witnessed the massacre of the Europeans at Jhansi:—"At last Major Skene and the rest were deceived by assurances that their lives would be spared if they surrendered, and they opened the gate, the Hindoos and Mahomedans having both sworn to them. Two attempts to send word to Nagode and to Gwalior for help had failed, and so, taking the hand of some man or other, Major Skene marched out first."

* Since hanged.
† *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.
‡ *Poona Observer*, April 21, 1858.
§ *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.
‖ *Evening Mail*, September 9 to 11, 1857

It will be seen that these facts lend no countenance whatever to the idea contained in the fiction.

LXXVI. "Another correspondent, writing from Ferozepore on the 24th July, * * * says:— * * * We shall never hear publicly of half the villanies perpetrated by these Poorbheas throughout the country. In Delhi they ripped open a pregnant European woman nearly at her full time, took the child, and bound it on the back of a hog, which was driven about the streets. Surely the Mussulman fanatics must have been guilty of this bloody deed."—*Bombay Times*, August 17, 1857.

People of intelligence would not repair to Ferozepore in quest of information as to occurrences said to have happened at Delhi; and as the correspondent at the former station has not favoured the public with the name and character of his informant, the story can be accepted as nothing better than mere rumour. It would be also necessary, not only before accepting the account as true, but before commencing the inquiry into its truth, that some particular information should be supplied as to who and of what rank the victim was. For the purposes of fiction, however, the tale in its present meagre form will be sufficient.

So much of the story as relates to the employment of the pig appears unlikely; and this may be the reason why none of the compilers has ventured to put the fiction into print. It is well known that the sepoys of the Bengal army hold the domestic pig to be an unclean animal. It is also known that amongst them stories were industriously circulated, and in most cases believed, to the effect that government had caused pig-bone dust to be mixed with the flour sold in the markets, and to be also thrown into the wells from which the natives drank; and that these stories, coupled with that of the new cartridges being greased with pigs' fat, formed one of the chief pretexts for breaking out into mutiny. With these facts in view, it seems improbable that either Hindoo or Mussulman sepoys should have taken with the pig that freedom which is necessary to the truth of the rumour in its entirety. It appears, therefore, that

the story is untrustworthy; and as its truth is vouched for by nobody, there will be little or no risk incurred in rejecting as fiction so much of the rumour as refers to the Poorbheas making the use of the hog alleged in the fable.

LXXVII. "'In mentioning the cold-blooded massacres of the Bengal Mutineers,' says the *Poona Observer*, 'we have omitted to state, what is perfectly true, that when our Soldiers entered the Barrack at Cawnpore in which the poor murdered garrison had been, they found, *arranged in rows*, fifty pairs of men's feet, and thirty pairs of women's—cut off above the ankle! This was evidently intended to show the *deliberate* character of their atrocities.'"—*Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 7th September, 1857.

The last slaughter of European males, in numbers large enough to produce fifty pairs of feet, did not take place later than the 2nd of July 1857, after Vibart's boat and its contents had been brought back, and after General Wheeler with his fellow passengers had been seized and conveyed to Cawnpore. Our soldiers under Havelock, it will be remembered, did not enter Cawnpore until the 17th of the same month; so that there was, between the two dates, an interval of fifteen days. This being the case, the *Poona Observer's* informant might have added a few particulars more to his story: for instance—how the fifty pairs of men's feet had been preserved from corruption, from adjutants, and from jackals, for so many days, in the battered, honey-combed, and mined barrack-room; whether brine or spirits had been used as an antidote to decomposition, and a closely barred cage, a series of meat-safes, or a large glass case, against the adjutants and jackals. In the present meagre state of the narrative, the reader is left to imagine too much, and, it may be, to invent modes of feet-preserving which were not resorted to on the occasion. If the feet had been left, without any means and appliances to ensure preservation, exposed in the regular and discriminative order stated, undisturbed for fifteen days, either by obscene animals or atmospheric influences, nothing short of a miracle would be necessary to account for the phenomenon. The adjutants and jackals, that fed in the neigh-

bourhood of the entrenchment while the siege was in progress, must have refused the feet; and the climate of Cawnpore must suddenly have assumed a polar character.

In a letter from Delhi, dated 20th of August 1857, it is written,—

LXXVIII. "Two Golundazes were hung the day before yesterday, the one for decreasing, the other for increasing, the prescribed quantity of powder used for shot and shell, which militated greatly against the accuracy of the range."—*Lahore Chronicle*, August 29th, 1857.

Both shot and shell charges are included in this information. In the following passage, shells alone are referred to:—

"Has any Artillery Officer in warfare been able to perform his duty with ordinary cheerfulness when finding shell after shell, though most carefully laid, fall far beyond or short of the mark, or, when he listened, perhaps, for the explosion, was rewarded with silence? And why? The fuses were purposely reduced to irregular lengths: treacherous, though trusted, native hands filled shells with sand instead of powder; the charges of powder were carefully increased or diminished by the same felon agency, so as to disconcert the besiegers."—*The Crisis in the Punjaub*, 2nd edn., p. 193.

So far as the mortar batteries—those from which shells were fired—at Delhi are concerned, both of the foregoing quotations are wrong. From the 12th of July to the 20th of September 1857, one or other of the mortar batteries, commencing at Hindoo Rao's and ending in the magazine in the city, was manned by the 5th troop 1st brigade of Bengal horse artillery. These were the only Hindoostanee artillerymen with the army of Delhi; and they "cut and set their own fuzes" (not without looking into the shells), and weighed their own charges or saw them weighed. As these natives were the only ones to whom the remarks about shells could apply, and as every survivor of the troop was promoted by the Governor General in Bengal general orders dated 30th of March 1858, for conspicuous gallantry in the field and exemplary fidelity to Government, the

term *felon*, when applied to the members of that troop, is as unjust as it is offensive.*

Probably the more correct version of the tampering, in which no mention whatever is made of shells, and which cannot, therefore, affect the honour of the 5th troop 1st brigade of Bengal horse artillery, is that which here follows:—

"Some fresh evidences of treachery within camp were detected on Sunday, August the 16th. It appeared upon examination that the ordnance charges were found to have been tampered with, to such an extent that our artillery practice could not be depended upon: sometimes our guns carried too far, while at others the shot fell very short of the proper range. Moreover, the guns would sometimes flash as often as three or four times, and once I heard of a piece of artillery flashing as many as seven times before it would discharge. We were at a loss to account for this phenomenon; but at length the discovery was made. Some of the gun lascars had been sympathising with the rebels, and, in consequence of this sympathy, they had been altering the charges so as to make our fire harmless; they had also filled the vent of the guns with powdered glass: by this last means, the enemy, having the benefit of the signal flash, had ample time to escape; while, when rapid fire on our part was necessary, our operations were hampered and delayed, and our plans often completely frustrated.

"Two of the lascars were seized and brought to trial. Their guilt was fully established, and without further delay they were disposed of by the rope of the common hangman, in spite of the sacredness of the day."—*The Chaplain's Narrative*, pp. 193, 194.

Various inscriptions have been produced as written on the walls of the prison-house by the Cawnpore victims. One runs thus:—

LXXIX. "Should this meet the eye of any one that knows—— in case we are destroyed, be it known that we occupied this room

* See *Delhi Gazette*, Nov. 13th, 1858.

for eight days under circumstances so severe and distressing as have no precedent. The destruction of Jerusalem could not have been attended with distress so severe as we have experienced."

There is nothing in this that might not have been written as well by one of the captives as by any one else. The next are to the following effect:—

"Here we are, 250 persons in this little place; here we lie in filth. We all shall be killed in two days' time, and may God avenge the slayers of innocent blood.

"O God, take us into Thy Holy Tabernacle. Signed Miss C. S., aged 18 years.

"2. Revenge! Revenge! countrymen, for the lives of your country fellows."

It is not likely that these were written by the captives, as they could not be aware at any time that they were to "be killed in two days' time." The intention of killing them at any particular time had not been formed until the day on which the massacre took place; when, on account of the near approach of the avenging army of General Havelock, a council was held to decide on the manner in which the prisoners were to be disposed of, and the time for its execution. "Here we lie in filth" does not agree with the state in which the prisoners are generally said to have been kept during the latter portion of their confinement, which would embrace more than two days prior to their death. Most reports agree in stating that certain servants had been provided to look after the cleanliness, and the partial comfort of the prisoners in other respects. Another inscription is as follows:—

"Countrymen and women, remember the 15th July 1857. Your wives and families are here in misery, and at the disposal of savages, who have *ravished* both young and old, and then killed, oh! oh! my child, my child! Countrymen, avenge it."

As the resolution to kill the captives at any particular time was not come to until the 15th of July; and as the intention was not likely to have become known to the prisoners until the butchers and others had entered and begun the work of slaughter,

it is very improbable that any of the prisoners could have had the nerve, while the swords of the murderers were at work in the building, to scratch the inscription, even if it contained the truth, which is not the case. The idea of the rebels ravishing both young and old carries absurdity on the face of it, were it not contradicted by the statements of all the witnesses, and rendered improbable from other circumstances than the age of many of the prisoners. "The spies, all of them, however, persisted in the statement, that no indignities were committed upon their [the female prisoners'] virtue; and as far as the most penetrating investigation into their most horrible fate has proceeded, there is reason to hope that one, and only one exception to the bitterest of anguish was allotted to them,—immunity from the brutal violence of their captors' worst passions. Fidelity requires that I should allege what appears to me the only reason of their being thus spared. When the siege had terminated, such was the loathsome condition into which, from long destitution and exposure, the fairest and youngest of our women had sunk, that not a sepoy would have polluted himself with their touch." —*The Story of Cawnpore*, p. 212.

It is hoped that by this time the improbability of the inscriptions having been written by the captives is sufficiently apparent. In addition to what is written above, the opinion of one who was on the spot at the time of the recapture of Cawnpore may be stated:—"No writing was upon the walls; and it is supposed that the inscriptions, which soon became numerous, were put there by the troops, to infuriate each other in the work of revenging the atrocities which had been perpetrated there."—*The Story of Cawnpore*, p. 215.

LXXX. "Take Captain Pinkus's letters from Jhansi, in which he denies the most horrible part of the story, while at the same time he acknowledges that the women were separated from the men, that the latter were slain first, that all were 'cut to pieces,' and that their bodies were found stripped. Every one acquainted with India knows how far the Mahomedans have adopted the notions of the Hindus, who consider it defilement to touch a dead body. Those who

have never been in India may remember that when Captain Hodson shot the three Delhi princes, he made them take off their upper garments, and then get into the carriage again, to prevent the difficulty there might have been in getting their dead bodies lifted. There is, therefore, every probability that the noble victims at Jhansi were despoiled before their slaughter, and not afterwards. No weight will be attached by any man of sense to the denial of the natives on the spot. They are too crafty and too timid to compromise themselves by admitting that they have even any knowledge of the horrors that occurred."—*Widdrington* in the *Daily News*, July 1, 1858.

We must admit the affirmations of "the natives on the spot" if we believe even that the bodies were stripped. There is none but native evidence in the matter. That the females were dishonoured (in the usual acceptation of the term) is a purely gratuitous supposition, there being not a single witness, with a name, to testify to the alleged fact. But it is maintained that the fact of the bodies being found naked "confers every probability" on "the most horrible part of the story," which is understood to be that the females were violated. It should be noticed that the admitted fact,—that of the bodies having been found after the massacre in a state of nudity,—if it proves the affirmation that violation was inevitable, proves too much; as both men and children were then found naked.

Widdrington asserts that "the Mahomedans have adopted the notions of the Hindus, who consider it defilement to touch a dead body"; and on this he assumes that there is "every probability that the noble victims at Jhansi were despoiled before their slaughter, and" he adds "not afterwards." Were the assertion true, the alleged probability does not by any means seem to follow legitimately. It is a well-known fact that the dead bodies of Europeans have been touched by natives: the remains of the Europeans slaughtered on three different occasions in Delhi were touched and removed; the bodies of the Europeans that were massacred at Cawnpore were for the most part thrown into a well, by native agency; and, without multiplying instances, it may be finally observed, that the mutilated corpses of Europeans at Jhansi were removed from the place of slaughter and thrown into pits or hollows. Hence it may be affirmed,

without doing violence to probability, that the grounds on which it is attempted to be shown, that the Europeans at Jhansi were stripped before they were murdered, are insufficient. There is, as is elsewhere shown, native evidence enough to afford a strong presumption that the stripping took place after the death of the victims; for one of the witnesses speaks of the men and women being arranged in separate rows, of the younger children being carried in their mothers' arms, and of the elder children holding their mothers' "gowns." There is no reason to suppose that those who threw the bodies into the pits would have scrupled to strip them after they had been deprived of life. That a Brahman, or a very scrupulous Mussulman, might have disdained to touch the remains of the human victim he had slain, is just possible; but there are the mehters, or sweepers, who have no scruples to restrain them from doing so. Moreover, there is no absolute necessity for going quite so low down in Indian society as to the sweepers. The more refined Mussulmans may, it is possible, have so far learned "the ways of the heathen" as to shun the pollution which the touching of a dead body is supposed to communicate; but it is not for a moment to be believed that such scruples would have any weight with the butchers, who are in the daily habit of handling the carcases of animals. As the scruples referred to form no part of the Mussulman's faith, and as they exist more in the army, where he and the Brahman work shoulder to shoulder, it is almost certain that the riff-raff of the Mussulman community would have no objection whatever to stripping a dead body for the sake of the clothes, or with the object of discovering valuables supposed to have been secreted about the person.

There is no ground, therefore, for the assumption that the victims were stripped before they were slaughtered; but there is ground for inferring that they were killed with their clothes on, and stripped afterwards.

The main question having been disposed of, it may not now be out of place to consider what is said regarding Hodson and the Delhi princes:—"When Captain Hodson shot the three Delhi princes, he made them take off their upper garments,

and then get into the carriage again, to prevent the difficulty there might have been in getting their dead bodies lifted." Yes; situated as Captain Hodson then was, surrounded by thousands of rebels, it would probably have been impossible to lift the bodies into the conveyance. His troopers would have considered it derogatory to the character of the soldier to perform the work of the sweeper; and Hodson would have been the last man in the world to risk the loss of his influence over them, by causing them even to suspect that he required them to perform any service which they might regard as a degradation. Once inside the city, however, he experienced no difficulty in finding agents to remove the bodies from the vehicle to the Kotwalee.

LXXXI. "CAMP JHANSI, *22nd March*, 1858.—At about 7 A. M. yesterday, the troops came in sight of Jhansi. * * * * You, of course, are aware of the indiscriminate massacre that was perpetrated by the Ranee's (of Jhansi) troops, of the whole of the European families, then resident at this place. But as you very probably are unacquainted with the details of the frightful scenes, abhorrent and revolting in the extreme, that were here enacted, I shall enter into a minute recital of them. My information is on reliable authority, having been given before a committee by the brother of one who most miraculously effected his escape. Preparatory to the massacre, a wing of one of the Bengal Regiments that were stationed here, were marching away, when the Ranee intercepted and prevailed upon them, partly by threats, and inducements held out of preferment and unrestricted license, to return. Shortly after, the whole of the European community, men, women, and children, were forcibly brought out of their homes; and, in presence of the Ranee, stripped naked. Then commenced a scene unparalleled in historical annals. She, who styles herself 'Ranee,' ordered, as a preliminary step, the blackening of their faces with a composition of suet and oil, then their being tied to trees at a certain distance from each other; and having directed the innocent little children to be hacked to pieces before the eyes of their agonised parents, she gave the women into the hands of the rebel sepoys, to be dishonoured first by them, and then handed over to the rabble. The mal-treatment these poor creatures had received was enough to kill them, and several died ere the whole of the brutal scene had transpired; but those who still lingered were put to death with the greatest cruelty, being severed limb from limb. The death the men were subjected to was by no means so intensely

cruel as that which our countrywomen received at the hands of their ravishers. Among the ruins of what once was the residency, a party of the 14th Dragoons discovered the head of a European female. The features could not be identified, the face being one entire mass of corruption; but the long silken auburn tresses denoted, but too truly, that she was one of the hapless beings who fell a victim to the insatiate thirst for blood of the hellish Ranee and her fiendish myrmidons." —*Bombay Times*, March 31, 1858.

Since the publication of Serjeant F. T. Reilly's evidence in the *Delhi Gazette* of July 14, 1858, the public have not been "aware of the indiscriminate massacre that was perpetrated by the Ranee's (of Jhansi) troops, of the whole of the European families, then resident at this place." Some Europeans were slaughtered by the sepoys of the left wing of the 12th N. I., as shown in the following extract:—"He" Captain Dunlop "commenced asking the only Native Officer present (his name was Lal Bahadur) whether he would be faithful. He replied in the affirmative; and the Captain began to question the rest of the men. All gave the same answer, till the Captain asked a Sikh sepahee, who insolently replied, 'I'll shoot you soon.' Upon this the Native Officer above mentioned struck his scabbard on the ground, and exclaimed, 'Well done, brother.' He then drew his sword, and, flourishing it over his head, cried out, 'Deen! Deen!' Instantly the Sikh fired, and Captain Dunlop fell dead. A volley was then fired from the Quarter Guard, distant about 7 yards. This volley killed Ensign Taylor, Quarter Master Serjeant John Newton, and the Havildar Major. Lieut. Turnbull was also wounded. He fell from the effects of the wound, the ball having entered the shoulder; but he rose again, and the last time I saw him he was standing upright, firing his revolver at the mutineers."*

The right wing of the 14th irregular cavalry also assisted at the slaughter of the Europeans:—"Lieutenant Campbell was the only officer with the Irregulars. When I came to within 60 yards of them, 5 or 6 shots were fired by the cavalry at Lieutenant Campbell. One or more shots took effect upon the

* Serjeant Reilly's deposition.

large bay mare which he was riding, and she began to plunge most violently. I then saw Heiat Khawn, the Wordee Major, ride out of the ranks up to Lieutenant Campbell, and fire at him. At this time Lieutenant Campbell was crying out to me, and waving his hand, telling me to get away. I saw Lieutenant Campbell fall, and I then galloped off. * * * My only escape was to the westward. On that side was the compound [enclosure] of a house. * * * This compound was surrounded by a stone plastered wall, more than 4 feet high. I rode at it and cleared it, and looking back, I saw three men of the 14th Irregulars trying to get over the wall by charging at it. I releapt the wall on the opposite side of the compound, and thus escaped my pursuers."*

Another witness, a personal servant of the late Major Skene, mentions the presence of the same troops at the time of the capitulation, just before the massacre:—"The sowars and sepoys pelted us with stones. * * * The mutinous sepoys and Ranee's men took the officers to the Jokhun Bagh." †

Mrs. Mutlow, who was on the spot at the same time, says,—"Soon as we came out of the Fort the Sepoys came and put their guard around them." ‡

A personal servant of Captain Burgess spoke of Campbell having "got several bullets into him," and of his having been "pursued by his own sowars." §

Hence, it appears that the massacre of Europeans at Jhansi was not wholly perpetrated by the Ranee's troops.

The next errors into which our anonymous correspondent has fallen are embodied in the following sentence:—"Preparatory to the massacre, a wing of one of the Bengal Regiments that were stationed here, were marching away, when the Ranee intercepted, and prevailed upon them, partly by threats, and inducements held out of preferment and unrestricted license, to return." There were no complete regiments at Jhansi at that time. The troops present were a wing of the 12th N. I. and a wing of the 14th irregular cavalry. If it were true that

* Serjeant Reilly's deposition.
† *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.
‡ *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.
§ *Evening Mail*, Sept. 9 to 11, 1857.

disaffected troops were marching away from the station "preparatory to the massacre," it would, to say the best of it, be a strange proceeding. It is not, however, true that a wing "were marching away"; but in the course of duty, a detachment of 80 men of the 14th "started at one o'clock that same day* for Oraee." These men were not "intercepted" by the Ranee, nor were they induced to return by any threats or promises of her's; the detachment was simply "recalled" by the authorities (who believed the cavalry trustworthy), in consequence of a portion of the 12th N. I. having made a mutinous demonstration in the "Star-Fort." †

It should be remembered that this was on the 5th of June. "Shortly after," says our veritable correspondent, "the whole of the European community, men, women, and children, were forcibly brought out of their homes; and, in the presence of the Ranee, stripped naked." It is presumed that Dunlop, Taylor, Newton, and Campbell, who were shot on the parade ground that day, were men of the European community; to the same community, too, belonged Reilly, who lived to give his deposition on the 5th and 6th of July 1858; likewise the two officers of the customs' department, Messrs. Macmullen and Martin, who escaped to Agra, and did duty there; ‡ also Captain Skene, who had on the 6th of June 1857 "taken up his quarters in the Jhansee Fort"; and, in short, the whole of those, from 60 to 70 in number, who came out of the fort at the capitulation on the 8th. These, it is almost needless to say, were not "forcibly brought out of their homes." There is no evidence whatever to show that the Europeans were stripped at any time before the slaughter; but there are sufficient grounds for the presumption that the stripping took place after the victims had been slain. Mrs. Mutlow says, of the preparations to leave the fort,—"Some of us changed our dress, some was with their own dress"; and, although she mentions the guard being placed round the victims, she says nothing about their being stripped. A personal servant of the late Captain Burgess said,—"The women

* The 5th of June 1857. † See Serjeant Reilly's deposition.

‡ *Mofussilite*, June 23, 1857.

stood with their babes in their arms, and the elder children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed."* This evidence, if thought worthy of acceptance, leaves no room for the belief that, as a preliminary, all were stripped. Those who were killed on the 5th, and those who escaped, were certainly not stripped; and they must be included in "the whole of the European community," who are said by the correspondent to have been "stripped naked."

"She, who styles herself 'Ranee,'" continues our correspondent, "ordered, as a preliminary step, the blackening of their faces with a composition of suet and oil." Suet and oil do not make a black mixture. Possibly, however, the writer meant *soot and oil.* None of the eye-witnesses, the officers' servants before mentioned, speak of this circumstance. It forms one of the points of an inquiry conducted by Captain Pinkaly, who was at Jhansi in April 1858; and he states, as part of the result, that "The females were never taken before the Ranee, nor were their faces blackened."†

The Ranee is next accused of "having directed the innocent little children to be hacked to pieces before the eyes of their agonised parents." This is contrary to the evidence of Captain Burgess's servant, who says,—"The men died first, Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a Prayer-book in his hand."‡

Of the Ranee, it is next said, that "she gave the women into the hands of the rebel sepoys, to be dishonoured first by them, and then handed over to the rabble." The *dishonouring* has been considered in Chapter II., to which the reader is referred.§ It may be added, that it is extremely improbable that such a gift should be made by the Ranee; that the sepoys should have received into their embraces foreign women whose faces were begrimed with soot and oil, or "suet and oil"; or that the rabble should have accepted them in such condition, for a similar purpose, at second-hand, from the sepoys. There is no

* *Evening Mail*, Sept. 9 to 11, 1857. † *Poona Observer*, April 21, 1858.
‡ *Evening Mail*, Sept 9 to 11, 1857.
§ See also the remarks on the extract from Widdrington's letter.

evidence of any eye-witness to show that the females were "dishonoured," in the sense intended by the correspondent.

He then goes on to say,—"The mal-treatment these poor creatures had received was enough to kill them, and several died ere the whole of the brutal scene had transpired; but those who still lingered were put to death with the greatest cruelty, being severed limb from limb. The death the men were subjected to was by no means so cruel." There is not a particle of evidence for all this. It appears to be, in part, an adaptation of a fiction first promulgated either at Delhi or at the hill stations, of some European females having been exhausted to death in the manner here implied. It is a violation of all that is known of the human mind, even in its most degraded condition, to suppose that the females should have been subjected to a much more cruel death than the males. No motives whatever can be assigned for so base an inversion of the laws of nature. It says nothing in favour of the mind of the writer, if he invented the story; and that he was capable of a little invention—stupid invention—will be shortly made evident. From the statement of a personal servant of the late Captain Burgess, and others, there was reason to believe that the females "were spared any violence save death."* Sahib-ood-deen, a personal servant of Major Skene, says in his statement,—"The next morning I went to the garden of Jokhun Bagh, and saw that the bodies of the officers, ladies, and children, were lying unburied, without clothes."† If the females had been "severed limb from limb," the mutilations would have been evident to this witness; but he does not so much as hint at their existence. From all that can be learned, it would seem that the adult males were first slain: then the women and children; and that, after death, their bodies were stripped.

The time now changes from the 8th of June 1857 to the 22nd of March 1858; the correspondent is himself on the spot, or wishes it to be believed that he is there; and he puts himself into the witness-box, to give evidence of what he saw of the

* *Evening Mail*, Sept. 9 to 11, 1857. † *Calcutta Englishman*, May 3, 1858.

Jhansi barbarities :—" A party of the 14th Dragoons discovered the head of a European female. The features could not be identified, the face being one entire mass of corruption ; but the long silken auburn tresses denoted but too truly that she was one of the hapless beings who fell a victim to the insatiate thirst for blood of the hellish Ranee and her fiendish myrmidons." That head is assumed to have belonged to one of the victims that had been slaughtered nine months and fourteen days before: after lying exposed for this length of time, it had escaped the jackal and the vulture, as well as the speedy decomposition which all inanimate animal matter is subject to in the climate of Central India, but which in the present case had advanced so slowly as not to have quite completed its office. More than nine months and a half were required for the putrefactive process at Jhansi, according to this witness, while, at other stations in India, less than a month of exposure to atmospheric influences and obscene animals would suffice to remove every particle of flesh, and leave nothing but the bare skeleton, and, perhaps, the hair. This is either an attempt to impose upon the public, or an exhibition of gross ignorance on the part of the correspondent. If it be true, as stated by another correspondent, writing on the same date to the *Bombay Standard*, that " A quantity of human hair" was " found somewhere,—supposed once to have adorned the head of the Resident's lady or daughter," then is it probable that our correspondent taxed his inventive powers to the limited extent of making a head for the hair, and a putrid face for the head. The invention is as unfavourable to the purity of his imagination as it is to the extent of his knowledge.

One thing yet remains to be noticed,—the nature of the evidence from which the circumstances of the 8th of June 1857 are said by the correspondent to have been derived. He says, —" My information is on reliable authority, having been given before a committee by the brother of one who miraculously effected his escape." It is very unlikely that a committee, composed of gentlemen of intelligence, would waste its time in listening to mere hearsay. The statement, if made by the

brother before the committee, would be but his own impression of what his brother had told him; and the correspondent, if he has not exaggerated what he heard, has given to the public his impressions of what the brother remembered of his alleged statement before the committee. However, it must be admitted that the story, being so much opposed to fact, is certainly the production of one who was not an eye-witness of the atrocities.

CORRECTION.

P. 70, line 7 from the bottom of the text,—*for* "proclamation of Feroze Shah," *read* "circular letter of the King of Delhi."

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